

HERITAGE, POWER & CULTURAL MEMORY IN HISTORIC MARKERS

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

This project examines the many facets of historic marker texts produced by the Texas Historical Commission (THC) and their resultant impact on heritage and cultural memory. The analysis consists of two major components. The first component is a content analysis which examines 254 unique historic marker texts from across the state of Texas. This analysis brings forward the major themes and values presented throughout the historic markers and identifies areas in which bias influenced the creation and resultant interpretation of historic sites. The second component examines three specific historic sites and their related narratives in depth. Utilizing the information gathered in the original content analysis this examination looks into the texts as well as the original histories submitted as part of the historic marker application, culminating in a discussion about the differences between the complete history and the abbreviated history provided on the historic markers. The results of this study provide possible implications for the cultural memory as dictated through historic marker narratives. It attempts to shed light on the power held by the THC in the formation of Texas heritage by revealing the narrative force and authority of historic markers. Thus, this project argues that cultural heritage is both created and impacted by the many historic markers scattered across the state of Texas.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE, AND METHODOLOGY

Fleming Oak

Camped here in 1854 with his father, young Martin V. Fleming hid behind this tree and saved himself when hostile Indians rode through the grove. Years later paving contractors started to cut the oak, but were stopped by "Uncle Mart" with his gun.

- THC Historic Marker, 1965¹

When I first heard the story of the Fleming Oak in Comanche, TX I was appalled. Unlike the carefully constructed narrative presented on the Texas Historical Commission's historic marker which heralds the tree as a savior from "hostile" Native Americans, the oral tale is quite different. While both are presented from the perspective of white men and denigrate people of different ethnicity, the local tale presents the tree as a character in the dark and sinister history of segregation.

A cousin of my father's lived in Comanche when the historic marker was erected. He asserted that local tradition was that the Fleming story was a myth constructed to save the tree from widening of the highway which would have eased travel through the town. Anyone who has passed through Comanche can attest to the fact that the road is unusually narrow around the courthouse square where the oak is located. The historic marker was used along with protests to protect the tree. And while the narrative speaks about a significant person in local history, it does not explain what

was considered to be the real reason locals wanted to preserve the tree: lynching. Legend has it that after the Civil War a sign was nailed to the oak. It was a warning that all African Americans were to be out of city limits by sundown and those who did not heed the warning were hung from the tree.

Despite the obvious issues recognized today, the narrative is relatively similar to others that were created at the time. However, there is little to support the story, and significant disparities exist between different versions. The town's official website even offers a different version of the event.² The story told by my family member further problematizes the efficacy of the marker text. Did the locals actually want to save the tree as a continued warning to the African American members of their community? Or is one of the versions of the Fleming story true? Either way, there is an obvious issue with the historic marker and how it has influenced the collective narrative of the tree.

I have always enjoyed reading historic markers. When I see a historic building I want to know its history, and often there is a marker to do just that. For years I have been annoying my family and friends by stopping to read the historic markers wherever I go. This passion has manifest itself through my academic career: my undergraduate, masters in communication, and now current thesis have focused on historic preservation. Despite my knowledge of the subject, I rarely took the time critically analyze the story presented on historic markers. The Fleming Oak changed that.

I decided that I needed to approach these narratives critically. The markers identify what we should remember, what is important to our heritage. These texts are often the only account of a site's history. Yet, I had no idea where they originated. I

needed to know more about who wrote them, who conducted the research, and ultimately how they impacted what we considered to be our heritage.

This research project emerged from the problems with the Fleming Oak marker. The Fleming Oak marker exemplifies the point of view of white men and characterizes Native Americans as “hostile” enemies while using politically incorrect terminology. The marker also presents a narrative that does not seem to have clear support or agreement. Finally, local legend suggests that the story is merely a myth which conceals the disturbing history of the site. While this is merely one marker, similar issues surfaced from additional markers.³ In fact, the closer I looked, the more issues appeared. It is clear that historic marker narratives are problematic, and must be engaged critically.

There is not a wealth of literature on historic markers, perhaps because many feel that in the digital age, historic markers are no longer relevant. However, we continue to fund and support the Historic Marker Program. The marker program currently produces approximately 200 new markers every year, adding up to approximately 13,000 markers across the state.⁴ Additionally, the idea of ‘having been there’ is ever-present. There is just something special about visiting a place that cannot be replaced by photography or other imagery.⁵ And although families might not make it a point to stop at every historic marker anymore, people who do stop disseminate the information provided through social media. In fact, there are many social media accounts dedicated to visiting, then publishing information and photographs of historic markers and sites.⁶ So whether you stop or not, you can still be exposed to these narratives, and thus, influenced by them. Finally, these markers dictate what historic sites become part of our

heritage by marking them as significant. James Lowe argues this point by posing the question, “We infer much of what we know about the ancient Mayans and Egyptians from their public sculptures and monuments. What will archeologists ages hence infer about us?”⁷

This project attempts to understand the ways in which historic markers participate in the construction of a group’s collective heritage. To fully comprehend this phenomena, I had to delve into the research and marker creation process. Thus, the scope of the project was limited to those markers created by the Texas Historical Commission. The THC wields a great deal of power as the official identifiers, collectors, distributors, and interpreters of Texas history and heritage. Through the historic marker program, the THC crafts Texas heritage visually, spatially, and linguistically. The THC seal and the apparent permanence of the markers authenticate the validity of the narrative and the significance of the place. What is not clear to the passive observer is the intentionality of the message which has been condensed from a local history by the THC. These carefully crafted narratives with their spatial context contribute to a collective heritage, allowing the THC’s choices to show us what is and is not significant to the shared identity of Texans.

Literature Review

This research is conceptualized by the notion that through its Historical Marker Program, the THC participates in the production of the collective heritage of Texans, which is based on collective memory and cultural identity. An essential aspect of heritage is recognition of the processes that lead one to know and understand the past.

As Lowenthal states, the past is distant, and yet, it still infiltrates and instructs our present.⁸ It is apparent that without the past, the present would have no meaning, no structure, and no validity. We use the past to ground our present reality, which intertwines (often unconsciously) our past, present, and future.⁹ It is at this intersection where memory, both individual and collective, becomes an essential aspect of our reality. What we discover in the past is “inevitably interpreted by the present and hence filtered through a distorting time-lens.”¹⁰ We must remember the past in order to make sense of the present which inevitably shapes our future. Thus, memory and heritage are inseparable. However, some critics consider memory to be “self-centered,” unprogressive, unengaging, and an impingement on agency.¹¹ This criticality rests in the idea that history is superior because of its official nature and, thus, sense of permanence. Abramson acknowledges this tension by asserting that, “History does not mean abandoning memory. History is memory critically tested and imaginatively engaged. History means making the past work, in the present and for the future.”¹² This raises the critical issue that what is said, or in the case of the historic markers, is written, becomes part of collective memory and can be used to discuss history. Thus, history and memory should be read, utilized, and examined together.

Public memory exists within the confluence of history and memory. Many scholars have attempted to define this idea utilizing the terms collective memory, public sphere, cultural memory, popular memory, and collective consciousness.¹³ Janice Hume defines public memory as “the collective beliefs about the past that inform a social group, community, region, or nation’s present and future.”¹⁴ If heritage is the present’s

use of the past, then public memory must be a critical aspect of heritage. Maurice Halbwachs contends that places and collective memory are interrelated by asserting that:

place and group have each received the imprint of the other. Therefore every phase of the group can be translated into spatial terms, and its residence is but the juncture of all these terms. Each aspect, each detail of this place has a meaning intelligent only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it.¹⁵

Culture, and thus heritage, is a place of collected ideas, where what one person experiences is influenced by someone else because they have both understood the same concepts and encountered similar places. Recognizing that collective memory, culture, and place were intertwined caused Assmann to develop a theory of collective memory that recognized the inherency of social construction that he called cultural memory. He defines cultural memory as “a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation.”¹⁶ Thus, heritage sites derive their collective identities not only from designation as heritage, but also from the subsequent interpretations by the public. Kwint echoes this notion by asserting that there is an implied “dialogue between the object, the maker, and the consumer in constructing meaning.”¹⁷

It is no surprise, then that the built environment presents itself as a *loci* for collective heritage because it is continuously experienced by the public visually and

experientially. Edward Casey contends that place and memory depend on each other by asserting that, “place provides the vital substructure of public memory not only by virtue of certain of its features that enable, embody, and induce shared remembrances but also for the very practical reason that it offers a space in which human bodies can come into proximity.”¹⁸ Anything defined as place, therefore, has the ability to be an intersection for the formation of cultural memory and collective heritage.

Heritage

The connection between place and heritage has long been acknowledged. While the appreciation of certain sites and buildings may fluctuate over time, it is clear that there is a special connection between places and the past. Why else would people travel across the world to tour the Roman Coliseum or walk up the thousand steps to the top of the Eiffel Tower? Even more compelling, is the energy, money, and resources we expend attempting to conserve sites and buildings deemed integral to cultural heritage. This is evidenced through the numerous cultural resource agencies that exist across the world and the many policies that have been enforced to protect various sites of significant heritage.¹⁹ There is something enduring and powerful about a historic site that simply does not exist in a story, image, or film. This is because “Cultural expressions without physical form have no life independent of the people who carry them.”²⁰ Someone points out that there is a belief that “heritage landscapes, sites and monuments transcend the realm of the ordinary, so as to touch a superior dimension, a higher, more sacred order.”²¹ This forceful pull of the past in places can be partially attributed to its tangibility. David Lowenthal explains that historic sites “are at once past

and present,” and the interactions of “old with new reinforce feelings of temporal coexistence.”²² Thus, when we visit medieval ruins, we are stepping into a confluence of past, present, and future possibilities. Lowenthal further elaborates, saying that the “tangible past is in continual flux, altering, ageing, renewing, and always interacting with the present.”²³

Understanding that heritage is constructed in the present, rather than passed down from the past, is essential. Schofield suggests that “It is the inevitability and universality of valued places filling our world that give heritage strong social relevance and purpose. For all these social reasons (not to mention those which are economically and politically driven), heritage has become central to our experience of the world.”²⁴ The notion that people are prone to place attachment, in which they bond and identify with “meaningful environments”²⁵ offers some insight into this phenomena. It informs how the necessary attachment of memories relates to places, even those that a person has never visited or has no substantial connection to historically or presently.²⁶ Schofield suggests that memories “shape our conceptions of heritage” and they “make it inevitable that we attach a complex range of values to the places that matter to us (also negative values to those which don’t).”²⁷ This attachment allows people to view places as part of *their* heritage, which is complicated by the modern notion of a world-wide heritage.²⁸

It is clear that heritage is a societal driving force, and thus, it is a popular academic subject. The use of the word heritage is thus widespread over a range of academic disciplines such as history, philosophy, architecture, urban planning, geography, and tourism studies. The prevalence of heritage studies means that there are

multiple existing definitions; each of which is valid in context, but many do not translate across disciplines or research projects.²⁹ Some scholars discuss heritage as “tangible remains of the past” and “intangible cultural assets.”³⁰ Howard defines heritage as “everything that people want to save, from clean air to morris dancing, including material culture and nature.”³¹ While both definitions are broad and fairly prevalent, I contend that their language is still limiting and that the boundaries of heritage is not within these tight borders. Howard’s definition infers a desire to remember, while heritage often involves aspects that people do not want to save because of embarrassment or regret.³² The definition proposed by Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, however, is inclusive and follows Lowenthal’s notion that heritage hinges on the moment when the past, present, and future meet. They define heritage as “the contemporary use of the past,” asserting that “people in the present are the creators of heritage.”³³

Preservation

The cultivation of heritage sites is often undertaken by the field of historic preservation. Lee points out that beginning in the 1980’s the field of historic preservation began to embrace intangible heritage in addition to tangible heritage.³⁴ Often it is the intangible heritage that composes the interpretation of a site. However, Lowenthal points out that “no physical object or trace is an autonomous guide to bygone times; they light up the past only when we already know they belong to it.”³⁵ These two aspects, then, should be considered together. Turgeon furthers this argument by suggesting that “tangible aspects of place make it possible to evoke the enduring

qualities and the layers of memory corresponding to the various levels of occupation of the site. The intangible aspects, or the spirit of those who once inhabited a site, make it possible to renew the original significance of the place or even invest it with a variety of meanings, in order to satisfy the competing claims of the groups of people co-inhabiting the location.”³⁶ The place alone represents a historical time period, style of building, and way of life. The addition of a narrative enters the place into the realm of cultural memory by offering a human component. Historic buildings paired with Historical Markers are examples of the tangible meeting the intangible. Separate, they each mean less. The text could stand alone, but would be lacking placedness. The building could stand alone, but would be lacking a comprehensive context. Combined, the text and building form a site of cultural heritage.

Like monuments and museums, these heritage sites contribute to the collective heritage of a group by presenting a confluence of place and narrative. Visitors interpret the site based on the marker inscription, visual characteristics, and experiential perceptions influenced by their personal frame of reference. Because cultural memory continually adapts to society, the introduction of new narratives has the potential to impact and transform it. In order to understand the influence of these sites it is critical to know the contextual development of the inscriptions and the resultant themes and values which dominate them.

Historic Markers Process

The historical marker process is long, detailed, and involves many people. The meticulous process works to formulate and perpetuate specific ideologies and values

which are mediated through marker inscriptions. Through the development of themes/topics on which the historic narratives must be based, the rigorous evaluation process, and the development of both historic narratives and marker inscriptions, the Texas Historical Commission infuses certain ideologies into the marker narratives, and thus, the heritage sites.

Over a year can pass from the moment a person decides that a site deserves designation to the unveiling during the marker ceremony. The length is required because of the amount of research that must go into writing a historic marker application and the amount of people that are involved in the process. The first step requires that the interested party contact their local community historical commission (CHC) which will offer advice and perhaps assist in the research portion of the application. The THC provides a list of 17 themes/topics, each accompanied by 6-16 sub-themes/topics, through which the historical context and narrative of a site is developed.³⁷ Once the application (which includes the historic narrative) is completed, the CHC reads and approves the provided information. They must then send the application to the THC to be read and approved by a historian. Once the document is approved (often after revisions and requests for more information or support) the THC writes the marker inscription.

This process requires many different rhetors, each of which could have differing motives. The instigator, who conducts the research and must generate interest in the project, could have a completely different viewpoint on the site than the THC employee who eventually writes the marker inscription. While the research is open to the public

through the THC library, the public's main access to information regarding the building or site is through the marker inscription. The original motive behind the marker is distilled through the historic marker process, ultimately reflecting the ideology and values of the THC. Thus, in order to understand how historic preservation efforts influence public memory of cultural heritage, the historical marker process as well as historic marker inscriptions must be examined.

Because the focus of the current project is on heritage places, the type of markers that will be examined in this project are Recorded Texas Historic Landmarks (RTHLs). These are the highest designation awarded by the state of Texas and relate to a specific building or site. The Historical Commission also awards Historic Texas Cemetery markers and subject markers (which do not necessarily relate to a specific site).³⁸ Along with the placing of a historic marker, RTHLs carry a legal implication that helps protect designated buildings and sites from change that might alter their historic integrity.³⁹ Thus, these designations not only provide a physical and visual aspect of importance, but they also provide a legal aspect as well. To those who know the implications of a RTHL, the weight of a historic marker is higher.

Although not all citizens know the background, process, and connotation of RTHL status, I argue that the marker itself bears a significant weight in establishing the importance of historic buildings and sites. The marker provides a sense of authentication to the site and its narrative within public memory.

Authenticating Heritage

Throughout heritage tourism studies, it has been established that visitors want ‘authentic’ experiences with the past which they attempt to find by visiting historic locations (sources). David Lowenthal suggests that humans *need* to interact with tangible relics of the past.⁴⁰ Visiting the site of a historic event, according to Lowenthal, can provide a feeling of connectedness with the past which helps to create the illusion of experiential authenticity. Being ‘on historic ground’ offers a unique sensation that cannot be recreated through photographs and narratives alone. However, the imitation of historic forms and architectural features has created a sense of cynicism regarding historic sites. Thus, some form of authentication is desirable.

Historical markers can provide this desired authentication. It is a simple visual clue to the public that a site is not only historic, but significant. This is because the mere “establishment of a memory place already marks it for exceptional cultural importance.”⁴¹ Any experience with a building that has a historical marker can offer a truer, more authentic, and thus more rewarding, experience than those without. In their survey of American perspectives on history Rosenzweig and Thelen found that the majority of people thought that “experience is the best teacher” which is why they desired the experience of visiting a historic site as opposed to reading or hearing about it.⁴² This attribute of the historical marker not only authenticates the building, but the inscription on the marker as well. Thus, the narrative provided (as authenticated) trumps other narratives which may exist and attempt to compete with the public memory of the

heritage site. The way people experience the site is dominated by the crafted narrative.

Clark articulates this element of composition within the experience by stating that:

experiences form and transform the attitudes, words, and actions that are the matter of our own encounters with others, and we necessarily express those to others. We make our own experiences from our encounters in particular places at particular times. But we also encounter experiences that have been composed for us to experience, that have been designed to influence and even direct the outcome of our own composition process.⁴³

This again raises the issue of authorship and motive. From this point of view, the experience (with the past) that a visitor feels can be carefully crafted to further the rhetor's goals. Blair, Dickenson, and Ott further this idea by stating that "a sense of authenticity is a rhetorical effect, an impression lodged with visitors by the rhetorical work the place does."⁴⁴ The ideologies and values presented in the narrative are authenticated rhetorically through the experience, and thus, less likely to be challenged by the public majority. In this way, those in power (in this case, the THC) have the ability to shape a group's heritage.

Bruner asserts that an aspect of authenticity includes "who has the authority and the power to authenticate."⁴⁵ Establishing power involves suppressing the power of others. This can be achieved through the absence of a particular group's cultural heritage in public memory. By merely 'forgetting' or leaving out information about a group of people, those in power can further marginalize groups, thus bolstering

themselves up on their restricted values and ideologies. Blair, Dickenson, and Ott assert that:

Because of their material form, modes of visibility, rarity, and seeming permanence, places of memory are positioned perpetually as *the* sites of civic importance and their subject matters as *the* stories of the society. The stories they tell are thus favored by being made, quite literally, to matter to the lives of the collective. They are intractably present.⁴⁶

This authentication is essentially a function of the rhetoricity of heritage sites which comes about in the visual form of the marker, the text of the inscription, and the experience with the historic building, all of which functions within the realm of cultural memory. Thus, from the preceding literature review the following questions arise: Does the THC historic marker process construct collective heritage and cultural memory in Texas? What themes and values dominate the historic marker texts produced by the THC?

Methodology

Joseph Gusfield suggests that language “limits the possibilities of experience in ways that present a crucial impediment to thought and action.”⁴⁷ For this reason, historic sites needs to be examined in chorus with not just historical, but also textual context. In the case of many historic sites, the textual context includes historical markers and their inscriptions. As authenticated narratives these inscriptions inform not only the story, but the interpretation of the site as a whole, and thus the impact on cultural heritage through collective memory. In order to understand the collective

heritage presented through the THC's historic markers, the narratives must be examined. This research attempts to shed light on the underlying, sometimes hidden, messages that are presented on historic markers. This information is then used to examine three individual case studies where the themes and values presented on the marker text is contrasted with the themes and values presented on the complete historic narrative crafted on the local level.

Content Analysis

In order to understand the many themes and values presented by the THC on markers, an extensive content analysis will be conducted. Each marker text is a carefully crafted by the THC historians. As mentioned earlier, these texts are abbreviations of a larger historic narrative that was researched and written on the local level. The THC historians must then utilize this information to craft a suitable narrative. It is apparent that this means that much of the history is left out or condensed extensively, perhaps to the point that it is no longer fully representative of the original historical information. Additionally, I argue that because of the change in author, these narratives are shaped to reflect certain themes and values deemed significant and appropriate by the THC. To explore the validity of this argument, the content analysis will be used to determine recurrent themes and values within a range of marker texts.

Content analysis, broadly defined by the U.S. GAO, is "a systematic research method for analyzing textual information in a standardized way that allows evaluators to make inferences about that information."⁴⁸ This methodology is broadly used across disciplines, and is especially useful in examining texts and words beyond the surface

level. Rather than merely counting the amount of times a word or phrase is utilized, a close content analysis allows the researcher to act as rhetorician, pulling out “ideas, references, themes, allusions, or concepts that are suggested by the presented elements.”⁴⁹ For example, a text might present the notion of power without ever having used the word. This is often the case with the texts of historical markers; a surface-level reading does not bring to light the important messages being presented. Thus, an initial reading of a sub-sample will provide preliminary content categories which are “based on common factors or themes that emerge from the data themselves.”⁵⁰ This emergent approach to analysis allows the researcher to discover themes and values directly from the text rather than beginning the analysis with preconceived notions. An additional advantage of content analysis to this particular study is that, according to Kerlinger, it is systematic.⁵¹ Because this study will examine a large number of texts, it is essential that the methodology be systemic, allowing for consistent coding across multiple texts. This increases reliability of results and enhances inclusivity of findings. The following steps will be followed in the content analysis process 1) specify the boundaries, 2) select sample, 3) define the unit of analysis, 4) construct content categories for coding, 5) establish coding system, 6) code the text, 7) analyze data, 8) discuss findings.⁵²

Specify Boundaries

The first step in the content analysis is to specify the boundaries of the analysis. Because the purpose of this research is to examine the collective heritage presented by the THC through the Historic Marker Program, the boundaries for this research include historic markers produced by the THC. Currently, the THC produces roughly 200

historic markers per year, selected through a competitive application process. This includes sites that have been designated Texas Historic Landmarks, as well as sites deemed significant enough for markers.

Select Sample

Because the THC has produced over 2,500 historic markers, a sample selection will be examined. It has been suggested that the reason Texas has so many historic markers is because of its large size. While this might not actually influence the marker production, it does bring to light one factor that might impact the results of the content analysis. The large landmass that is grouped together as the state of Texas encompasses a diverse range of groups. In fact, many people have, both in jest and seriousness, created ‘cultural’ maps of Texas that divide the state into smaller groupings. This emphasizes the notion that location might be impactful to the content of the historic marker narratives. For this reason, the sample selection has been determined by location. One marker from each of the 254 counties in Texas was randomly selected for inclusion in the content analysis. The texts selected were gathered from the Texas Historic Sites Atlas, a database of historic sites and markers in Texas.⁵³

Define Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is each individual marker text. Each text is examined independently, within the context of the information provided by the Historic Sites Atlas. This context includes marker number, marker title, index entry, address, city, county, subject codes, year marker erected, designations, marker location, and marker size. Several of these contextual items are coded: city, county, year marker erected,

designations, and marker size. Within the marker text each sentence is coded independently for subject(s), theme(s), and value(s).

Construct Content Categories

Once a sample was determined, an emergent analysis was conducted on a randomly selected sub-sample of 15 texts. Each text was read and dominant themes and values within the text were determined. The results were then organized into categories (also referred to as code families) that grouped recurrent and related subjects, themes, and values. This analysis allowed an initial pool of categories to be determined. These categories were then used as codes during the analysis. Table 1.1 shows the initial content categories.

One problem with this initial analysis is that it is not necessarily reflective of all themes and values presented throughout the 254 marker texts examined. Because of this issue, additional content categories were developed throughout the coding process. If a new theme or value presented itself during the coding process, a new content category was created and a notation of which markers had been coded previously was made. During a second reading of the marker texts, additional texts were coded with new codes if necessary.

Architecture	History	Power	Narrative	Significance	Nature
Building Size	Texas	Business	People/ Characters	Originality	Agriculture
Architectural Style & Details	United States	Industry	Action	Use	Resources
Material(s)	Republic of Texas	Technology	Scope	First	Landscape
Construction Method(s)	Local Community	War	Naming	Last	Aesthetics
Building Use		Military	Men	Only	
Aesthetic Qualities		Money	Women	Tourism	
Year Built		Religion	Space/Place	Marker Size	
Space/Place		Education	Vernacular Words		
		Transportation			
		Government			

Table 1.1 Initial content categories organized into code families with related codes

Establish Coding System

In order to make the coding process systematic, a plan was constructed beforehand. Because of the volume of texts and content categories, the decision was made to analyze the texts using ATLAS.ti, a research program that allows the researcher to code a text within context.⁵⁴ This program was chosen for ease of use and analysis tools.

First, the texts and their context (defined above) were collected in an Excell spreadsheet. They were then loaded into ATLAS.ti as a hermeneutic unit. Each text becomes an individual document with inherent codes entered automatically. These inherent codes are the county, city, year marker erected, designations, and marker size. Then, the initial content categories were entered into the program as codes. Each code

was provided with an explanation which detailed when the code should be applied to a unit. Because additional codes would be added throughout the coding process, it was determined to wait to determine code families until after the completion of the analysis.

Code the Text

The coding process involves reading the text, determining the values and themes present, and marking the unit with the appropriate content category. This process is relatively simple when using the ATLAS.ti program which allows the researcher to simply highlight a portion of the text and then assign any numbers of codes to it. As mentioned before, many codes were determined prior to reading all of the marker texts, however, there may be instances where an important theme or value emerges during the coding process. In this case, a new code is created and defined, and the coding process continues.

Analyze Data

After the analysis is complete the data is analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. The following questions will be addressed: With what frequency was each code and code family used across all texts? What specific words were used most frequently across the texts? What code and code family interactions exist? Does the year the marker was erected correlate to themes, values, or subjects present?

With what frequency was each code and code family used across all texts? The code manager provides basic information about how often each code and code family is applied. This information can reveal dominance of theme, value, or subject.

What specific words were used most frequently across the texts? Utilizing the word cruncher analysis tool in ATLAS.ti will provide a count for each word within a given text. Thus, a count of words throughout all of the marker texts can be calculated (Figure 1.1). While this does not completely reveal the distribution of values, it does provide an interesting look at word choice across multiple texts. For example, the prevalence of the action word “served” reveals the value of service. However, multiple words can create one value, as is the case in the words sold, money, dollars, and \$.

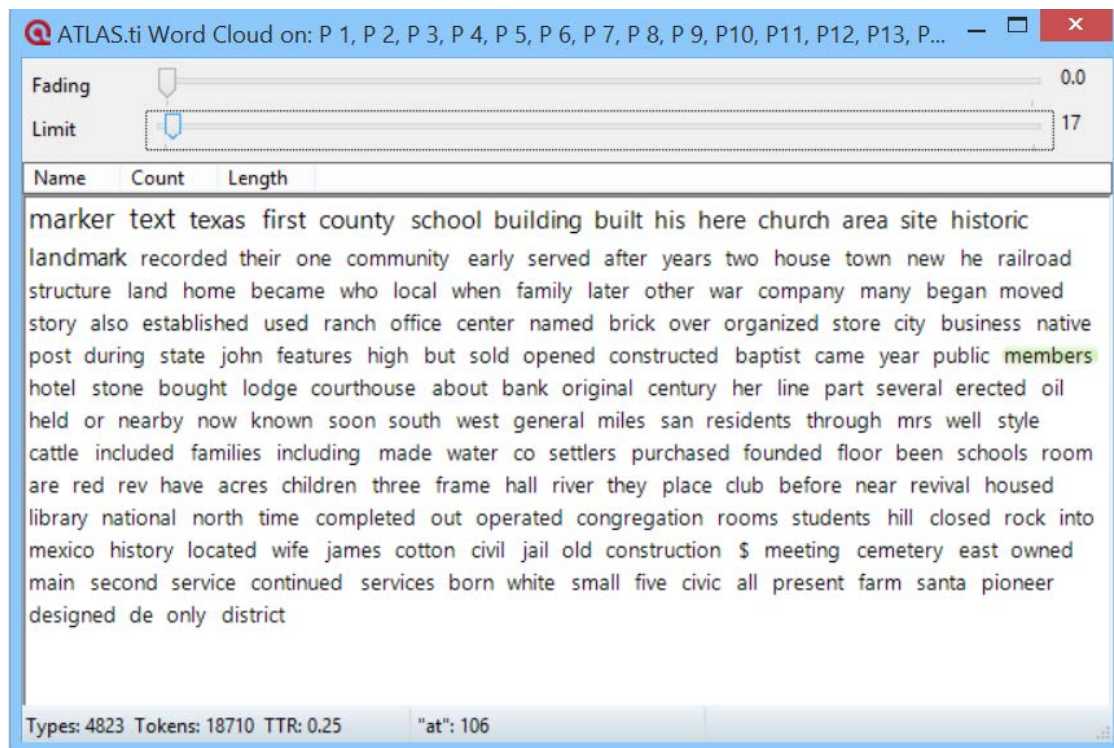


Figure 1.1 Word Cloud of most frequently used words across marker texts.

What code and code family interactions exist? To discover and understand the interactions present between codes and code families, the co-occurrence analysis tool in ATLAS.ti is utilized. This tool allows the researcher to view the instances when one code or code family is applied to the same text unit as other codes or code families. Creating a code co-occurrence table allows the researcher to select one or more codes to examine in relation to other codes (see Figure 1.2). This data can then be exported to Excel and used to create graphs and charts. The Codes Co-Occurrence Table can also be used numerically by allowing the researcher to select instances of co-occurrence and view them within their context as shown in Table 1.2.

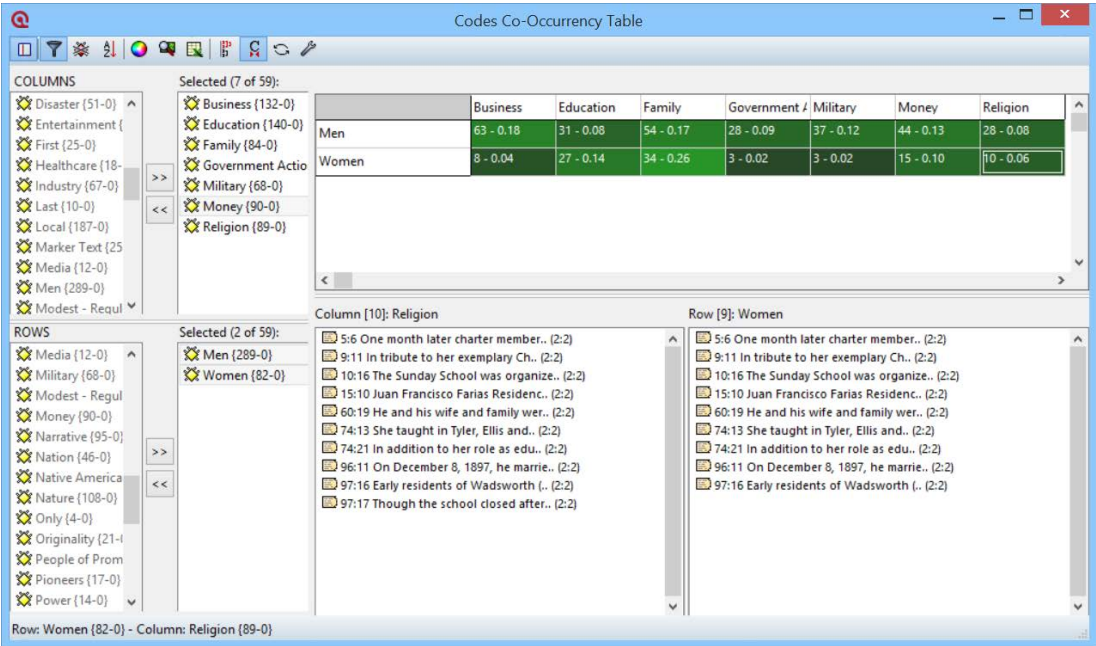


Figure 1.2 Example codes co-occurrence table in ATLAS.ti showing interactions between chosen codes across historic marker texts.

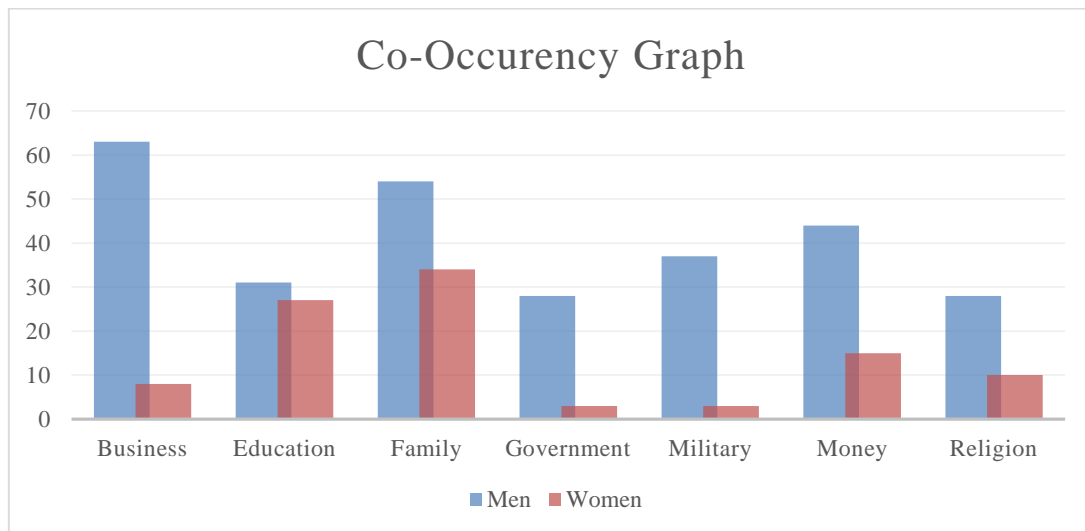


Table 1.2 Graph showing the co-occurrence of selected codes

Does the year the marker was erected correlate to themes, values, or subjects present? The Codes-Primary Documents Table is utilized to discover interactions between primary document, codes, code families, and inherent codes. This allows the researcher to examine the number of times certain interaction occur between chosen aspects. For example, inherent codes, like the historic marker location, can be analyzed for interaction with the architecture code family.

Discuss Findings

Finally, the findings must be discussed. This will include interpretation of quantitative data as well as a discussion of emergent codes and their impact on the collective heritage of Texas. Each code family will be discussed based on frequency, relationship with other codes, date associations, and location. The discussion will focus

on how the results relate to the THC's crafted messages and their impact on collective heritage.

Case Studies

One of the major factors that influence the historic marker texts is the multiple authors involved in their creation. Thus, in order to understand the final product, this process must be explored. Therefore, three specific historic markers will be examined and compared to their complete historic narrative created by a local group for the THC marker application. This analysis will provide insight into the similarities and differences between the full history and the constructed and presented narrative.

First, each complete narrative and historic marker text will be read and coded using the existing themes, values, and subjects discovered in the initial content analysis. As with the original content analysis, new codes will be created if necessary. Then, the context of each marker will be examined. This will include information about who wrote the marker application, any communication between them and the THC, and information about the marker's location. Finally, the results will be compared to those of the general survey of historic markers.

The three case studies were chosen for the difference in property. The following characteristics are different for each case study: date erected, site type, site size, designations, local group who submitted application, and marker size. These differences allow stronger conclusions to be drawn about the influence of the THC on historic marker texts. The following markers were chosen for analysis: the Kaufman County Poor Farm,

Kaufman County Poor Farm – Kaufman, TX

The Kaufman County Poor Farm is a large property which includes several historic buildings and landscapes. The significance of this property lies in the purpose of the site, its uniqueness, scope, various uses, and vernacular design. While there were many poor farms around the state, this specific farm is considered to be the most complete poor farm remaining in the state. The historic marker application for this property was produced by the Kaufman County Historical Commission. The 18”x 28” freestanding marker was erected in 1997. Kaufman is a small town in central Texas with a population of approximately 6,500.

Driskill Hotel – Austin, TX

The Driskill Hotel is a commercial building in the heart of downtown Austin, TX. The significance of this building rests in its originality, architectural style, prominent owner, and famous visitors. The building’s extravagance and size made it a famous hotel in Texas and drew in a number of noteworthy visitors. Unlike most THC sites, this building features not one, but two THC historic markers. One is the traditional Recorded Texas Historic Landmark medallion and plate; the other is a 20” x 20” marker. Additionally, the building includes a marker citing its listing on the National Register of Historic Places. All markers are attached directly to the building. The two THC markers were erected in 1966.

Houghton House – Amarillo, TX

The Houghton House is a residential property built in 1914 for a prominent local businessman. The significance of this building rests in its former owners, architectural

style, and architect. The previous residents of the home were leaders in agriculture in the Panhandle. The Prairie Style home features local brick and unique details. The historic marker application for this property was produced by the local Junior League. The marker is the standard Recorded Texas Historic Landmark medallion and plate which is attached directly to the building. The marker was erected in 1981. Amarillo is a small city located in the Panhandle of Texas with a population of approximately 230,000.

Limitations

As with any content analysis, there are a few important limitations to this study. First, the sample may not be wholly representative of the marker texts as a whole. In order to examine texts across the state, one marker was chosen from each county. However, the dispersal of markers within the counties was very unequal resulting in a sample that is not entirely randomized. However, location was hypothesized to be a contributing factor to marker differences, so including markers that were from different locations was important to data collection. Further research on this subject would require a true random sample or a holistic analysis. Second, this content analysis is conducted both inductively and deductively. Because there were not clearly defined code categories before coding began, there is a higher chance of coder mistake. However, the nature of this exploration required flexibility throughout the reading and coding; some surprising and significant themes and values would be missed without it. Additionally, the three case studies may not fully represent the large scope of historic markers. But, for the limited scope of this project, three was considered an appropriate selection. Finally, this content analysis will be conducted by one coder who is the sole

researcher for the project. This means there is a higher chance of coder bias. However, because of the rhetorical approach to the discussion portion of findings, there is precedent for a single coder. However, it is suggested that further research include a multiple coders to correct any existing bias.

Endnotes

1. *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, “Fleming Oak,” atlas.thc.state.tx.us.
2. *Texans United*, “Comanche, Texas: The Fleming Oak,” Texans United Presents Comanche, <http://www.texansunited.com/comanche/fleming-oak/>
3. Other problematic marker texts are pointed out in the following analysis.
4. Betty Dooley Awbrey and Stuart Awbrey, *Why Stop? A Guide to Texas Roadside Historical Markers*, (Plymouth, U.K.: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2013), xi.
5. A review of the literature that reflects this notion is included in the following literature review.
6. I am personally involved in this practice by posting pictures on Instagram and Twitter of historic sites accompanied by text retrieved from historic markers. While this particular research is not about media and heritage, it is worth noting because it does expand the reach of historic markers, and thus, their impact. A surge of academic literature about consumption and dissemination of heritage through social media is currently occurring. See Alejandro Baer, “Consuming History and Memory through Mass Media Products,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 4, no. 4, (2001): 491-501; Fiona Cameron and Sarah Kenderdine, *Theorizing Digital Cultural Heritage: A Critical Discourse*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); Jose van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*, (Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press, 2006).
7. James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1999), 5.
8. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 185.

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10. Deirdre Evans-Pritchard, "Ancient Art in the Modern Context," *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, (1993), 10.
11. Daniel Abramson, "Make History, Not Memory: History's Critique of Memory," *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 9 (1999), 1.
12. Abramson, "Make History, Not Memory," 5.
13. Barbie Zelizer, "Reading the Past Against the Grain: the Shape of Memory Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no. 2 (1995): 214.
14. Janice Hume, "Memory Matters: The Evolution of Scholarship in Collective Memory and Mass Communication," *The Review of Communication* 10, no. 3 (2010): 181.
15. Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2.
16. Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65, (1995): 126.
17. Marius Kwint, "Introduction: The Physical Past," in *Material Memories*, ed. Kwint *et al.* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 3.
18. Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 39.
19. Examples of cultural resource agencies that participate in the conservation of heritage sites include the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property, International Council of Monuments and Sites, United

Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, and United States National Trust for Historic Preservation. Significant policies include the Charter of Athens, Roerich Pact, Florence Charter, ICOMOS Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, and National Historic Preservation Act. These documents can be found on the Getty Conservation Institute website:

http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters.html. Information about the cultural resource agencies was found in: Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999).

20. Ormond H. Loomis, editor, *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States*, The American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, and National Park Service, 7.

21. Laurier Turgeon, "Introduction: Spirit of Place: Evolving Heritage Concepts and Practices," in *Spirit of Place: Between Tangible and Intangible Heritage*, ed. Laurier Turgeon, (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Universite Laval, 2009), XXXIV.

22. Lownethal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 248.

23. Lownethal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 248.

24. John Schofield, "Forget About 'Heritage': Place, Ethics and the Faro Convention," in *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage*, ed. Tracy Ireland and John Schofield, (New York, NY: Springer Science + Business Media, 2015), 199.

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26. Harold M. Proshansky, Abbe K. Fabian, and Robert Kaminoff, "Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self," *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3 (1983): 59.

27. Schofield, "Forget About 'Heritage': Place, Ethics and the Faro Convention," in *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage*, 192.

28. This notion was addressed in the "General Conclusions of the Athens Conference" in 1931. The Getty Conservation Institute, "Cultural Heritage Policy Documents – General Conclusions of the Athens Conference (1931)," http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter02.html

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33. Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy*, 2.

34. Antoinette J. Lee, "From Historic Architecture to Cultural Heritage: A Journey through Diversity, Identity, and Community," *Future Anterior* 1, no. 2, (2004): 19.

35. Lownethal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 238.

36. Turgeon, "Introduction: Spirit of Place: Evolving Heritage Concepts and Practices," XXXVIII.

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38. "Official Texas Historical Marker Procedures," *Texas Historical Commission*, adopted January 27, 2012, accessed January 7, 2015, <http://www.thc.state.tx.us/public/upload/publications/Item%2012.2%20-%20Marker%20Procedures.pdf>.
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42. Roy Rosenzweig and David P. Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1998), 92.
43. Gregory Clark, "Rhetorical experience and the National Jazz Museum in Harlem," in *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, edited by Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010), 116.
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50. Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Domnick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1991), 165.
51. Fred N. Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, (Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2000).
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53. Texas Historical Commission, *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*,
<http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/>
54. Information about this research program can be found on their website:
<http://atlasti.com/>.

CHAPTER II

VALUES AND THEMES IN TEXAS COLLECTIVE HERITAGE

Briscoe County Jail

Built 1894 of handcut stone hauled here by horse-drawn wagons from Tule Canyon. Early day sheriff's families rented it as residence. Lower floor was used by Red Cross workers, for sewing, during World War I. This jail stands as the lasting reminder of what courage and dedication mean in preserving law, order and integrity in Briscoe County.

- THC Historic Marker, 1967¹

The historic marker in front of the Briscoe County Jail perfectly demonstrates the main argument constructed by historic markers across the world: this place is significant. While each marker approaches this idea uniquely, the argument is always there. It explains why the site still exists, why the site matters, and why the site is part of our heritage. The Briscoe County Jail marker explains its significance in narrative form. Rather than just presenting the information in a dry, factual manner, this text adds linguistic flourishes to fully endow the building with sufficient significance. Yet while this text suggests that this site represents “law, order and integrity,” it fails to mention the slaughter of hundreds of Native Americans in order to claim the land on which the building rests.

As noted in the previous chapter, the THC historic markers are problematic for their biases, change in authors, filtering through an approved Texas narrative, and

apparent authentication. Nonetheless, these markers litter our landscape and brand sites with a seal of authenticity making it essential to understand what ideals are presented through these narratives. Each marker is presented within the context of a place; they each infuse a site with a narrative. Together, the words and the place form a powerful combination. Several scholars have examined the forcefulness of place to authenticate. Katz suggests that “the experience of authenticity thus appears to be tied to the experience of place.”² In this way, the marker text and its spatial location provide a sense of authenticity that perhaps does not exist in traditional historic narratives. Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd states that, “Some of the earliest theorizations of place draw strong connections among space, experience, and meaning.”³ By standing at a site, reading a historic marker, a visitor is plunged into an experience with the past that is unequal to that obtained by reading the text alone. This authenticity makes these marker texts powerful. As ‘authentic’ historic accounts, the historic markers shape the collective heritage of Texas. Prats explains the narrative process of authentication and heritage:

First, the referents are selected (the words of the discourse), they are then coherently organized with the content of the discourse (the sentences) and, finally, they are interpreted (through text, audio-visual materials, lights, window displays, etc.), so as to restrict the polysemy of the referents and leave the discourse clearly defined (and sacralized, of course, by the appropriate relics).⁴

Thus, it is the words about the past and their intentionality, made authentic through connection with relics (in this case, sites), that formulate and

characterize collective heritage. Corsane, Davis and Murtas echo this idea by asserting that, “it is the meaning attached to these tangible elements that provide a sense of continuity and identity.”⁵ This makes it imperative to not just understand heritage as the place or the story, but the combination of the two which has been constructed in the present as a ‘legacy’ for the future.⁶

As detailed in the previous chapter, this content analysis includes the texts from 254 historic markers, each from a different county in Texas. The values and themes were pulled from the texts themselves, and have been assigned to various quotations throughout the texts. Then, the different values and themes have been analyzed for their co-occurrence and interactions. This was completed through the various analysis tools offered by the qualitative analysis program ATLAS.ti. While this presents numerical evidence of co-occurrence, it does not explain significance of such interactions. Thus, this chapter will discuss not only the numerical information, but the possible importance of it. A framework of collective memory, identity, and heritage through rhetoric allows the texts to be fully examined. Phillips and Reyes suggest that “our experience of the past is framed so heavily by collective social structures as to make each instance of remembrance-especially those conducted in front of others—an essentially rhetorical act.”⁷ Each marker represents a public instance of remembrance, and should be examined as such.

To understand what these markers add to Texas heritage, I will discuss the various dominant themes and values which appear across the sample of marker texts. Rather than a close examination of a few marker texts, this widespread examination will

offer insight into ideologies which are repeated across the state, thus reaching a wider audience and perpetuating certain ideas about Texas heritage. These dominant themes will be examined through a discussion of textual examples through a rhetorical collective memory framework. While these marker texts may appear harmless on the surface, the dominant ideals may have troublesome impacts.

As a product of the ‘present,’ each marker reflects the current dominant ideologies. Considering some past notions (for example, gender norms), offers a clear picture of one of the major problems with historic marker texts. As a continuous product of the ever-elusive present, the texts struggle to provide a continuously acceptable philosophical base. Despite the shifting philosophies on which this program is built, there are dominant values that surface, some regardless of time, others in spite of it. The following discussion attempts to better understand what these values and themes are and how they are presented throughout the landscape of Texas on historic markers.

Dominant Themes and Values

It is no wonder that the word used most frequently across the marker texts is Texas. Despite the local origin of the markers, the sites have been appropriated to enhance the overall narrative of Texas. Avraham and Daugherty discuss this narrative in their research about the use of the Texas narrative in advertising. They state that, “Among US states, arguably the strongest narrative is that of Texas-cowboys, cattle, desert vistas and the Lone Star flag are all widely known, and heavily used, symbols of the Texas story, which is, by extension, the American story.”⁸ As could be expected, these traditional notions of Texas appear throughout the historic markers: stories of

brave pioneers blazing the trail for the future; stories of resilient settlers overcoming disaster to forge the strong communities we know today; stories of local lawmen participating in the capture of national outlaws. This suggests that the state narrative is part of the national narrative, much like the local narratives are used to construct the overall Texas narrative. Each local site and story has been framed within the larger Texas narrative through the marker itself (featuring the THC seal) and the marker process, which allows the THC to have the final say on the marker text. However, it is usually a local historical commission, group, or person who initiates the marker process which is why it makes sense that the third most used word is county. Additionally, community, town, and local are all within the top fifteen words across the markers.

Word Occurrence				
Texas	221		early	71
first	163		served	68
county	158		years	67
school	145		house	66
building	136		town	66
built	126		new	65
his	106		he	63
here	99		railroad	61
church	97		home	58
area	94		land	58
site	83		structure	58
community	71		local	53

Table 2.1 Graph showing most frequently used words across all marker texts.

Table 2.1 shows the most frequent words. As could be expected, this information is telling about the overall dominant themes and values that exist within the texts. And while they offer some insight, they do not present a comprehensive understanding. This is evident in the example above. The words county, town, local, and community could all present an overall value of community. Yet, within context additional words could work toward this value. Or in context, each of these words might work toward a completely different value. For this reason, word counts were considered, and used to inform original code categories, but cannot be viewed singularly to draw conclusions. Words generate their meaning from context, making extraction contrary to the goal of value determination. However, the words below do reveal many of the main themes and values discovered within the texts: state, community, education, religion, space/place, originality, service, business, and prominent people. To understand each of these, they must be conceptualized within their context and within the grander narrative of Texas.

Texas Origin Story

As a native Texan I have heard (and participated in) the perpetuation of Texas collective heritage. Growing up I attended the Palo Duro Canyon based musical-drama TEXAS nearly every summer. It is a shining example of the Texas origin story featuring the harrowing tale of early farmers and cattlemen and their battle with prairie fires, Native Americans, drought, encroaching industry, and the blossoming of Texas government. These tales, though not entirely inclusive, reflect some of the major themes in the Texas origin narrative: cowboys, pioneers, discovery, creation, the struggle for independence, and the pride of joining the United States. This origin story provides

the base for a collective heritage of Texas in which relics and stories of this theme are gathered and presented. The marker that adorns Wild Horse Lake in Amarillo attempts to associate the site with this narrative. It reads, “At various times this playa lake served as a reliable water source for buffalo, wild horses, nomadic native americans [sic], explorers, cattle drivers, traders, and pioneers traversing the high plains.”⁹

The construction of a collective state heritage is both essential and problematic. Much like the creation of a national heritage, state heritage is used to connect a large group of people.¹⁰ John Bodnar points out that the origin story of the United States continues to serve as the foundation for collective memory and identity for the nation through enduring symbols, values, and heroes.¹¹ Phillips and Reyes assert that national identity “can be said to have been largely constituted through practices of public remembrance that serve to forge a common origin ...”¹² This collective narrative constructs a collective identity through which people with different backgrounds, values, and beliefs can connect.¹³ While these examples point to the nation, the concept can easily be transferred to the state level. This is especially true for Texas because many of the symbols, values, and heroes of the state come from its period as an independent nation.

On the surface, the Texas origin story is a good unifying base for a diverse collection of people. Generally, it speaks of a group of people overcoming all obstacles to create a place “blessed by God.” It is an intriguing and exciting tale in which battles are fought for the greater good and the heroes are known throughout the nation. This narrative is essential to the creation of a collective heritage and much of the tangible and

intangible remnants of Texas' past are associated with it. The historic marker for the A.F. & A.M Forrest Lodge No. 19 in Hunstville proudly states that the lodge is one of only a handful that were chartered during the Republic of Texas.¹⁴ Similarly, the Red Lander Office marker proclaims that it was "One of the most influential newspapers in the Republic of Texas..."¹⁵ Numerous markers across the state commemorate people who are significant simply for their service in the Texas War for Independence¹⁶ and one marker provides detailed information about five local men who signed the Texas Declaration of Independence.¹⁷ This period in Texas history continues to serve as an integral part of Texas heritage and provides a foundation for the origin story through the establishment of heroes (Davy Crockett, James Bowie, William Travis, Samuel Houston), symbols (the Alamo, the lone star), and values (freedom, persistence, and independence). March 2 continues to be celebrated as Texas Independence Day and is a significant holiday in the state. Many towns host parades and festivals in celebration and the Texas House recently approved the sale of fireworks for Texas independence holidays.¹⁸ This significance is reflected throughout the historic markers both spatially and temporally.

Many of the historic markers sampled worked toward the creation of the origin story through acknowledgements of pioneers and the frontier, along with the values that they represent help to formulate values which any number of people could support: perseverance, resilience, expansion, progress. Through their vagueness and continual applicability, these values help to sustain a collective belief system. An example of how

these values are presented through the Texas origin story can be seen in this marker located in Panhandle:

In the 1874-1888 era the High Plains (a sea of grass) had no native timber, stone, or adobe building materials. Homes were dugouts, or, if settlers' wagons went some 300 miles for lumber, half-dugouts. Dugouts were warm in winter, cool in summer. Some were carpeted and cloth-lined. Some had an extra room, for the schoolteacher or other guests. The cooking and heating stoves burned buffalo chips, cow chips.¹⁹

Erected in 1967, this marker features a much stronger narrative style than others produced around the same time. But, this style is imperative to the communication of value because the reader must imagine a scenario outside of his or her frame of understanding. This site, featuring a replica of a pioneer dugout, is contextualized through the historic marker narrative. Rather than seeing the present, the reader must imagine the world of the pioneers, and in the contrast of the past and present, the pioneers are seen as resilient and innovative. While building the “oldest house” in Crane County, “[i]t took wagons 3 days to haul lumber from Odessa.”²⁰ From this sparse land, pioneers developed shelter and provided the foundations for the modernism of present life.

One of the major components of the Texas origin story is ranching and farming. A recent Texas tourism commercial talks about visiting for the “Texas cowboy experience.” This narrative, though not true to every part of the state, seems to be a unifying story. As one of the most dominant themes across all markers (186 codes)

agriculture and ranching appears on markers throughout the state. One examples appears on a marker in Wolfe City:

Grist (corn) mill built about 1873 by pioneers Lemuel P. Wolfe and Abbey Wilson. Powered by oxen, treading inclined wheel. Area's first post office was located in millhouse, which was center for the settlement called "Wolfe's Mill," incorporated in 1886 as "Wolfe City."²¹

It is apparent that the importance of this site comes from its association with pioneers. Not only does this marker associate the site with pioneers in general, but explains their significance by mentioning that the genesis of the present city was this site. The natural resources of the land were cultivated by these pioneers so that the present could have the city it knows today. The town marker in Knickerbocker states that the pioneers came because they were “attracted by irrigable land and the available water supply,” allowing the town to blossom after the Baze brothers “dug an irrigation ditch.”²² This notion that pioneers wrangled the natural wild of the land is presented on a marker located in Edinburg. It reads, “Macedonio Vela settled here in 1867 and soon transformed over 4,000 acres of wild brush land into prosperous Laguna Seca (Dry Lake) Ranch.”²³ The language used in this text presents a good/bad scenario. The land can either be wild (bad) or prosperous (good). Like many of the markers featuring the theme of agriculture, this marker also suggests that while the land offered resources, they were nothing until the pioneers arrived and cultivated them. This obliquely neglects the fact that there were already people who lived on the land and used the resources.

The Origin Problem

As stated earlier, this origin story appears to successfully connect the diverse population of Texas by offering a universal and consistent heritage through narrative and tangible relics. A closer examination reveals a darker side to this origin story; one where people and animals are massacred, men hold all of the power, and significance is awarded where it doesn't belong. Although growth is often presented as a positive value, it was often accomplished through war and thus, death and displacement. This is apparent in several of the markers which valorize war heroes, even when the battles or wars were unnecessary or unwarranted. The text of a 1936 marker titled "Anderson's Fort or Soldiers Mound" states:

Here behind extensive breastworks Major Thomas M. Anderson, Tenth U. S. Infantry, maintained a supply camp for the Cavalry under General Ranald S. Mackenzie, Fourth U.S. Cavalry, who in 1874-1875 forced the Indians of the region onto reservations and opened the plains to white settlement.²⁴

This simple text exemplifies the glorification of people who used the values of growth and exploration to suppress another cultural group. Major Anderson is memorialized for 'opening' the plains by ridding them of Native Americans. This text presents the values of the Texas origin story while simultaneously revealing the negative impact of it. However, the language in this text continues to reinforce the idea that these actions were beneficial and praise-worthy.

A marker commemorating old buffalo wallows in Odessa points out the brazen cruelty used to establish the state. Speaking of the buffalo, it reads:

They were pursued seasonally by the plains Indians, who subsisted on the food and clothing the buffalo provided. In the late 19th century, railroads bisected their trails, isolating the herds and providing transportation of meat and hides to distant markets. In Texas vast buffalo slaughters were encouraged in the 1870s by the army, who wanted to deprive Indians of their commissary; settlers, who had crops trampled and forage consumed by the passing herds; and hunters, who realized quick profit particularly from hides.²⁵

Although the text mentions the actions, it does not necessarily condemn them. The pairing of the decline of buffalo with a mention of railroads suggests that it was inevitable for modern progress. The use of the word ‘slaughter’ suggests a massacre of sorts, but it also pairs it with an explanation of intent, almost excusing the actions. The careful wording mutes an uncomfortable past and allows for commemoration without complete remembrance. This process of muting and forgetting occurs across the historic markers and will be discussed in greater detail later.

The origin story is important to the creation of the collective identity of Texans. It is essential to present a unifying history, and one important part of that is a quality origin story. This narrative appears in the texts of historic markers across the state, merging the intangible stories with the tangible sites. The authenticity of the narrative is amplified through its physical manifestation in the form of buildings, landscapes, and

natural features. The spatial and visual elements associated with the origin story help to make it real to wide variety of people. The location of these sites also allows the narrative to touch a great number of lives. Since the sites associated with the origin story are across the state, they are spatially close to people, often infiltrating their everyday lives through their physical presence. In this way, the past is a part of the present, and the story is perpetuated. Although this could be beneficial by forging a bond between members of the state, it can also suppress and distort stories that deviate from the accepted story. The required indiscrimination constructs a universal heritage that generally relates to the Texas population and forges a bond among residents.

What Do We Value?

Beyond the origin story and its associated values, the historic markers present other values that work toward a collective memory and identity. Gary Alan Fine asserts that, “Within communities participants are linked because of belief in the value of their shared concerns.”²⁶ When it comes to the acknowledgement of heritage, the ‘shared concern’ often becomes dictated by an entity with power. In the case of the historic markers, the final say of what is considered significant is determined by the THC, a government entity. Certainly, any one individual or group has the right to submit an application for a historic marker, however, there is no guarantee that the THC will also find the site or event significant. Additionally, the cost of application (currently \$100), the cost of research, and the cost of actually erecting a marker (currently between) actually limits who can participate in this heritage-making process. And, in the end, the THC actually determines what text appears on the marker. This places the ultimate

power in the hands of the THC, allowing them to determine what is valued within the Texas collective heritage. Thus, reading the historic markers can answer the question: (according to the THC) what do we (Texans) value?

According the historic marker texts, Texans value community, family, progress, action, education, and religion. Each of the ideas presented in the graph above is represented in at least thirty historic markers. By repeating these ideas across the state, the THC is providing basis for a collective value system in relation to heritage. The marker texts infuse the sites with value and the ideas become part of the collective memory. The manifestation of these ideas is clearly apparent in the types of sites, buildings, and stories that have withstood the test of time. Table 2.2 shows the occurrence of the dominant themes and values over time. This reveals the most of the dominant themes have been included in markers erected in different years, as opposed to one or more themes occurring frequently over a short span of time. Thus, the dominant themes are not fleeting fads, but enduring values continuously adding to the overall collective heritage.

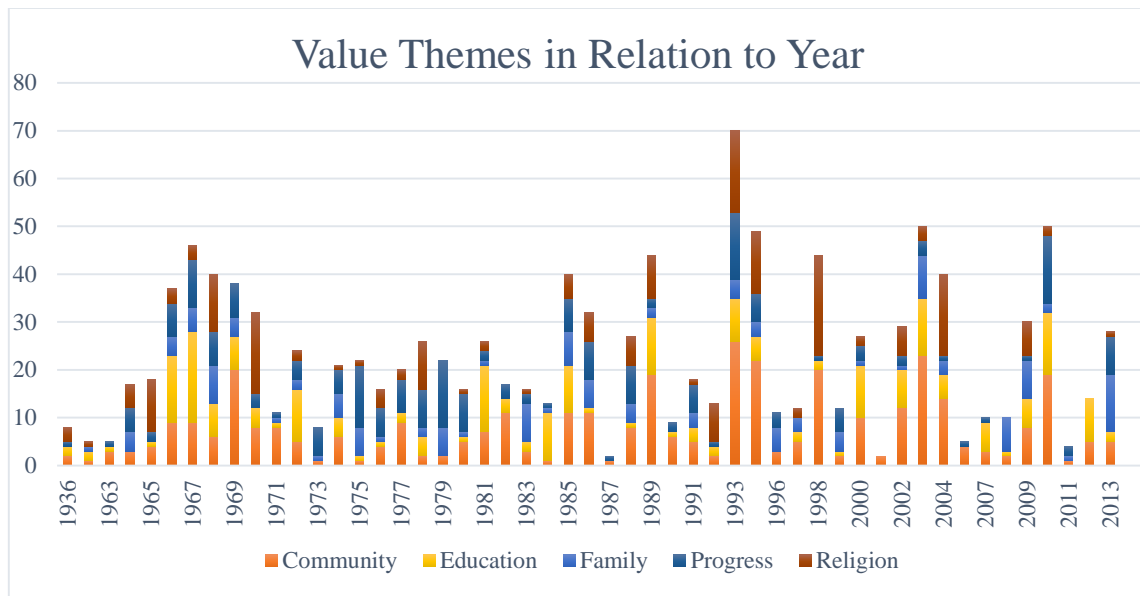


Table 2.2 Graph showing the occurrence of themes within historic marker texts in relation to the year markers were erected.

Community

The most frequently occurring subject is community, suggesting that it is the most valued. Not only does it appear repeatedly, it also appears regularly across time as evidenced in Table 2.3. This theme was coded when the marker text mentioned collective action, community-building, social activities, and neighborhoods. As many of the markers' significance exists at the local level, it is not surprising that this theme appears so frequently. Similar to the larger Texas origin story, many of these markers discuss the local community's origin story. As discussed in the previous section, the origin story works to bond together a group of people who might otherwise not be connected. By perpetuating the idea of community, the THC reinforces the collectivity required for identity and heritage creation. Citing Gongaware, Ines Gabel eloquently

states that “Collective memory is the result of an interactive process of selecting, processing and organizing past events or periods within a framework that grants them political and social significance.”²⁷ In order to maintain the power over how collective memory is created, the THC must continually reinforce the collectivity of the group. One way they do this is to emphasize the community.

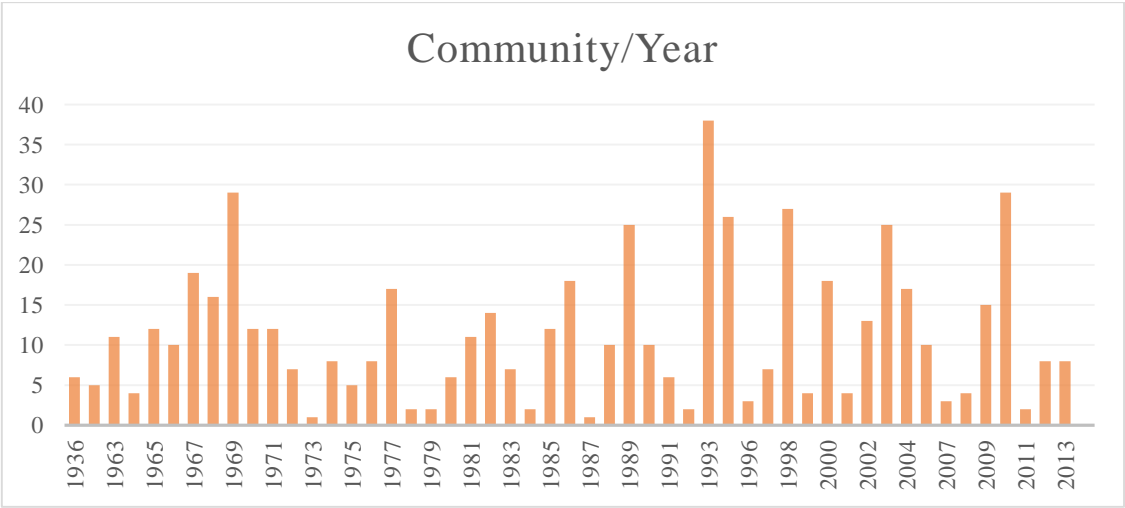


Table 2.3 This graph shows the instances that the theme of community was discovered in relation to the year the marker was erected.

One way that community is reinforced is through discussion of community activity and events. Some markers simply speak about a site as a gathering place for the community, while others, like the marker for the Blum Male and Female College, use narratives to present a sense of community.²⁸ The marker for the Brinkley Mansion in

Del Rio states that “Local residents often came to dance to the music and enjoy the light show at the local landmark, which the Brinkley family owned for 46 years.”²⁹ Not only does this marker point to the site as a local social hub, but it uses narrative to connect to a current audience. Music and dancing are activities relatable throughout time, and are usually social. The significance is also articulated through the use of the phrase “local landmark” which suggests that the site is valuable to the community. Similarly, the Kincaid Ranch marker in Batesville states that, “During the area’s ranching heyday, the hotel served as the business hub and social center of the Uvalde area, and ranchers from Texas and surrounding states often made ‘The Kincaid’ their area headquarters.”³⁰ This text offers a spatially-tied sense of community by pointing to the location as a social center. This marker even attempts to offer a connection beyond the local level to the state and national levels. Thus, the space becomes a *locus* for several communities.

In addition to connecting communities across space, many of the markers attempt to connect communities across time. This appears across many historical markers, using a past sense of community to draw connections within the present community. This notion is also presented in the text of the Woodsboro Square marker which states, “The plaza remains a center for civic activities in Woodsboro.”³¹ This simply asserts that the heritage site was significant to past communities just as it is significant to present ones. The Peacock historical marker also connects past communities with present communities by stating, “Annual homecomings began in 1963, the year before Peacock schools consolidated into Aspermont schools. The homecomings continue to bring residents and descendants of original settlers together to celebrate the rich area history.”³² This texts

emphasizes the importance of returning to the place in order to connect with the area's past. It is in this spatial location that the past, present, and future unite in collective heritage.

One of the major topics that helps establish community is service. Several of the markers associate historic sites with contributions to the greater public. An example of this correlation exists in a portion of the Wink Junior High and High School marker which reads, "The high school not only served as a location for learning but also as a meeting place for community activities and sporting events."³³ Thus, the site provides something for the community and should be considered part of the local heritage.

Another example exists on the Brooks Blacksmith Shop marker which states, "The shop, which closed in 1996, provided vital services to area farms and ranches, and was a social gathering place for Meadow residents."³⁴ These examples explicitly state the significance of the sites to community formation because of the multiple services they provided (education and entertainment; equipment and socializing).

A more extensive example of service-based community creation is found on the marker for the Site of the Center Point School in Plains which is one of the largest markers produced by the THC (27" x 42"). The large format allows the narrative for the site to be quite extensive in comparison to others. The marker reads:

Yoakum County was organized in 1907. By the 1920s the area around this site was rural farm and ranch land without electricity, paved roads or a railroad. Building lumber was brought by freight wagon. Several local men erected a one-room frame building near this site in 1924 to serve as a school

for the widely-scattered rural families. The structure also was used for Sunday school, monthly services and Methodist and Baptist revivals. Designated as Center Point School District No. 8, it served an area of 64 square miles. Classes ranged in size from four to more than twenty students over the years. Some walked a mile or more across open prairie to reach the school. Others rode horses, which they kept tethered behind the building. Students participated in Yoakum County Interscholastic League events in addition to their usual studies. Teachers earned \$80-\$100 a month to teach all grades, do janitorial work and in some cases even provide daily transportation for the students. Teachers usually boarded with local families. Enrollment increased slightly when oil camps opened in the county in 1935. In the spring of 1939, voters opted to merge Center Point School District No. 8 with others to form Plains Rural School District. The one-room school was closed and moved to Plains for use as a music building, later becoming part of the American Legion hall. Center Point School served the educational, spiritual and social needs of the surrounding community for fifteen years. Although short-lived, its legacy remains a vital part of the history of this part of Yoakum County.³⁵

This text provides an origin story for the community, including mention of the challenges faced by the original settlers. The narrative mentions the establishment of a school-building which was often one of the first uniting elements of settler communities. Additionally, the marker states that the town educators were housed within the

community, helping to fortify the importance of this particular site to the unification of the area. Finally, the text explicitly states that school served the community. This emphasis on assistance, both tangible and intangible, helps to establish the identity of the group, which extends to the identity of the state. Because heritage is something crafted by the present, it is imperative to examine not only what is ‘used,’ but also what values that use presents. This particular heritage site is used to forge a sense of community, which helps to empower the rhetor. As such, the THC is building up the very collectivity that it needs in order to influence the collective heritage and identity.

Family

The second most frequent value-theme is family. Much like the use of community, presenting family as something Texans value occurs throughout the marker texts and actually assists in the collective-making process. Most people value family already, and especially value the connectedness that is inherent in being part of a family. This is an especially important concept to the creation of collective heritage because the origins of the idea of heritage rest in families. In fact, heritage used to be about the inheritance left by family members.³⁶ This deeply connects the ideas of heritage and family, and the notion of ‘leaving a legacy’ for future generations remains a significant factor in the current conceptualization of heritage.³⁷ Table 2.4 shows the occurrence of family in relation to the year the markers were erected.

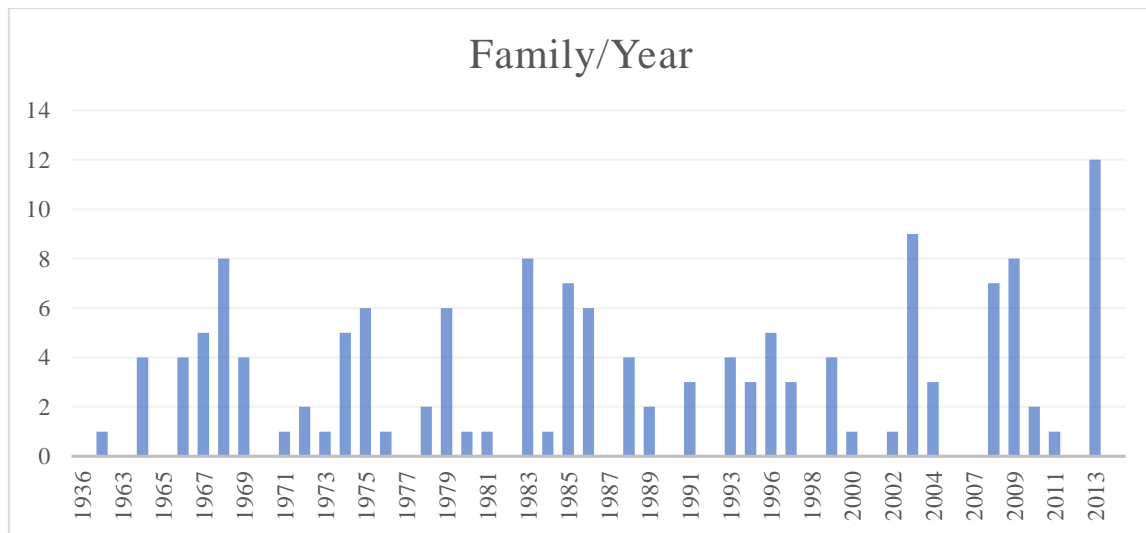


Table 2.4 This graph shows the instances that the theme of family was discovered in relation to the year the marker was erected.

The notion of family appears in a wide variety of contexts and is fairly steady over time. The historic markers use family to show consistency, connect sites and subjects to an origin story (local, state, and/or national), and connect to the marker audience. Frequently the markers reveal a sense of consistency by using narratives of families. The way this is presented varies for each marker. The marker for the Moore Home in Richmond makes it known that the house was “Occupied by three generations of the Moore family ...”³⁸ A similar narrative is repeated throughout many markers: “the house remained in the Donoghue family until 1966,”³⁹ “Today, most of the Josselets’ original land is still owned and operated by descendants,”⁴⁰ “Laguna Seca Ranch is still owned by the Vela family.”⁴¹ The phrase “still owned” is used, despite the fact that the statement might only be true in the moment it was written. Even though the

text of these markers is permanent, time-suspended language is used which emphasizes the importance of family consistency. No matter when the audience reads the marker, they will get the sense that the same family is still connected to the site.

As established in the first section of this chapter, the origin story of a community, whether that is local, state, or national, can be highly impactful on that community's collective identity and heritage. One way this is manifest is through the creation of heroes. As seen in the markers about the Texas Republic, many people were made into heroes simply for being involved in the creation in some way, whether that be through battle, policy, or other. Family can then be used to make substantial connections to these origin story heroes. This is evident in the Sulphur Bluff marker which connects to a family from the Republic of Texas era. It reads:

First known settlers in area were family of John Gregg. Their cemetery (2 mi. N) has marker dated 1837, from Republic of Texas era. Other early settlers were the brothers Hezekiah and Robert Hargrave, from Indiana. They built brush-roofed log homes (3 mi. N), on high bluff above Sulphur River, offering protection from Indians and providing abundant game. Robert Hargrave, a mechanical genius, built a wood and iron shop, a blacksmith shop, and a grist mill that drew customers from Caddo Mills, 50 miles away. A post office was built 1849; early school was founded 1852.⁴²

This text not only connects a family to the state's origin story, but the local community's origin story as well. Additionally, another family is mentioned whose story speaks to the survival of the local community. Another example appears on the Nassau Plantation marker which states that the land "was later divided into small farms, cultivated by descendants of the original German pioneers."⁴³ The significance of this site is amplified because of its connection to original settlers.

The marker for the Hicks and Cobb General Merchandise Store approaches the notion of family as community-building. The marker states that, "The townsite of Medicine Mound had long been a thriving village when brothers-in-law Lon L. Cobb and Ira Lee Hicks arrived in the area with their families in 1927 and opened a general merchandise store."⁴⁴ The narrative continues later in the marker where it states, "In 1933 a fire all but destroyed the townsite, but Hicks and Cobb rebuilt that year with round granite cobblestones from Oklahoma ... the structure became a community gathering place and a Medicine Mound museum."⁴⁵ With such limited space on historic markers, it seems unnecessary to include the words "brothers-in-law" and the phrase "with their families." Yet, these phrases were included. The connection to family relates to a wide audience and ties the characters to a community. Then, this family community saved the townsite and created an establishment that served the larger community. A similar community-building story is presented on the Josselet Switch marker which states, "Each of the Josselet children inherited a 200 acre tract, and the families contributed to area growth that supported the Belew, Gilliam, Powell, Meyers

and Pleasant Valley Schools and the Josselet Home Demonstration Club.”⁴⁶ These examples show the close connection between family and community.

This collective identity is also used to connect to the marker audience. One example states, “Under Armstrong's guidance, the Armstrong Ranch became one of the legendary cattle ranches of Texas. His descendants have continued the tradition of family enterprise here through the twentieth century.”⁴⁷ This marker about the Armstrong Ranch was erected in 1983. The language used was probably intended to connect to a current audience, but sounds dated today. It does, however, suggest that the legacy of the original owner, a Texas Ranger, has been passed down and possibly continues into the present. The Knickerbocker town historical marker states, “The settlers of Knickerbocker, however, left a rich heritage. Many of their descendants still live in the area.”⁴⁸ This statement connects the value of family with what it means in the present: heritage. Throughout the THC markers the family is shown as something that Texans value. Like the origins of the notion of heritage itself, family plays a significant role in bringing people together so that a collective heritage can be created.

Progress

Viewing the creation of heritage as a memory text contributes to an understanding of how the historic marker texts contribute to a larger text that explains why and how we value certain ideologies in the present. The use of the past within the present narrative relies on change and transformation. Misztal explains that one of the ways the past is remembered is “through progress narratives (capturing improvements and developments over time) ...”⁴⁹ In order to view a memory as past, it must be

different from the present. Thus, narratives of progress are an essential aspect of the formation of collective memory. Through a narrative of progress, a reader gains perspective on the transformative nature of time while imagining a common history within a group. Narratives of progress and change are used in many historic markers. Table 2.5 shows the instances in which progress is used in relation to the year the marker was erected.

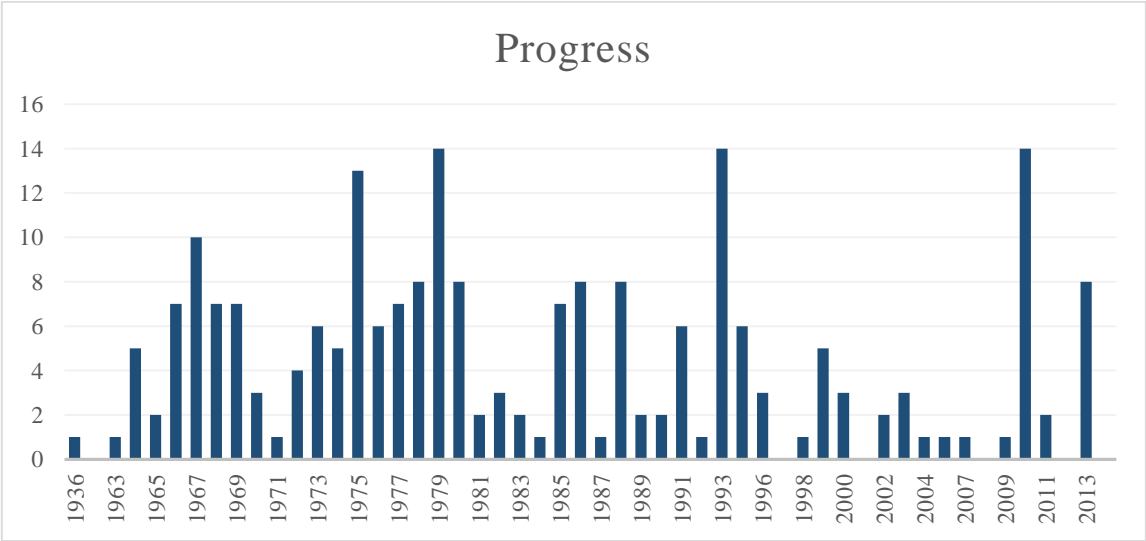


Table 2.5 *This chart shows the instances in which progress appears in relation to the year the markers were erected.*

The idea of progress also related to new technologies and their implementation throughout the state. Several markers speak about the modernization of sites, citing different technologies as tools for progress.⁵⁰ The Breckenridge Stephens Walker Home

is noted as having the “town’s first central heating system.”⁵¹ The Kay Theater in Rockdale also boasts its air conditioning system noting that it was one of only a few buildings in town featuring a system.⁵² A marker for the Galveston “News” states that A.H. Belo was the first person in Texas to install a telephone in his home.⁵³ Each of these texts help to forge a narrative of progress throughout the state.

A major advancement that is continuously cited is transportation. The implementation of different means of transportation acted as agents of progress for the state of Texas. Often this narrative of progress is also intertwined with the origin story of communities. This is especially true in the case of railroads, which often served as the genesis for towns. This is apparent in the Royston Townsite marker which says, “The town of Royston came into existence in 1906, when the Texas Central Railroad built a line through this area.”⁵⁴ The marker for the Miami Railroad Depot points out that the town was actually established around the end of the track.⁵⁵ The workers populated the site, and soon the town began to develop with the introduction of telegraph lines and a public water system. The progress of the town results from the system of transportation. Another example of how railroads assisted in progress appears on the marker dedicated to the Pecos Cantaloupe which gained popularity through their distribution “to dining cars of Texas & Pacific Railway.”⁵⁶ The transformation of the Pecos Cantaloupe industry was assisted by the distribution throughout the state offered by the railroad. This notion is repeated on historic markers across the state.⁵⁷ A portion of the Woodsboro Square marker reads:

A land development project of W. C. Johnson and George P. Pugh of Danville, Illinois, this town along the St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railway was laid out in late 1906. A post office was established in the Bonnie View Land Company Hotel in 1907, and the town was named for Captain Tobias D. Wood, who had sold his Bonnie View Ranch to Johnson and Pugh. A public square was included in the official town plat in 1908 and it became the center of the economic growth and civic enterprises that characterized the early development of Woodsboro.⁵⁸

This narrative points not only to the railroad as an agent for progress, but also as the dominant factor in the town's origin. The progress of the town is also attributed to several businesses and prominent people. Additionally, the narrative attributes the railroad stop as a *loci* for progress through physical and economic growth. This entire marker text presents the notion of progress through the implementation of transportation. This is a powerful demonstration of the origin story and values of community and progress work together to unite a group through a memory text. By utilizing all of these notions in one instance, this text becomes a unifying narrative, and the site becomes a collective heritage site.

Education

Education appears as a major subject across the historic markers in Texas. Education and the sites where it has occurred through the past are dominant themes and are major contributors to the collective heritage in the state. As a major factor in the incorporation of towns and an active aspect of the present, the subject of education is

foundational in the formation of collective memory. It is a unifying subject in that all people (at least those with the ability to read marker texts) have at some point participated in some form of education. Additionally, it is a subject that is ever-prevalent, thus bridging the gap between the past and the present. The distribution of instances where education is dominant is displayed in Table 2.6. It is also clear that the marker texts themselves are intended to be a form of education by not only commemorating sites and events, but educating the public about them.

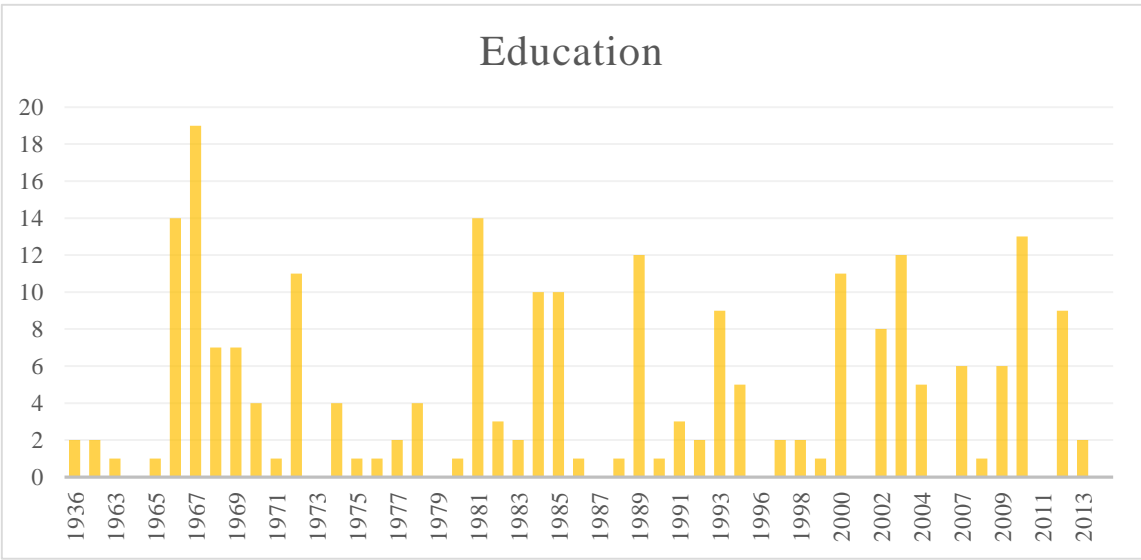


Table 2.6 This graph shows the instances in which progress appears in relation to the year the markers were erected.

Many of the educational facilities and narratives connect to the community origin story. For example, the Luckenbach School marker states, “In 1855 pioneer area settler Peter Pehl deeded a two-acre tract of land at this site for the construction of a

schoolhouse to serve the Luckenbach School district.”⁵⁹ Not only is important to mention a pioneer, but the text specifically cites Pehl as having donated the land for the community. The emphasis on service strengthens the appeal to a collective use of the narrative. Not only did a pioneer serve his community by providing land, but the site itself served the community. The notion that this particular place enriched the entire community makes it more likely that people will want it to be part of their heritage. The marker for the Springlake-Earth school offers a narrative of education, progress, and expansion. It states:

Opened 1908 as one-room school, Springlake became an independent district in 1924 when Halsell ranch land sold to settlers and local population increased. Enlarged school opened 1925 in new \$30,000 brick structure on site bought from J. F. Kelley . . . Band and football squad were organized and school paper begun in 1928. Enrollment, curriculum and school plant continue to expand.

The school is explained as a unifying site; a place that brought together people throughout the area. In addition to discussing the activities offered by the school at a certain point in time, the marker mentions the cost of the school building. This essentially places a monetary value on education in the area and emphasizes its importance at the time. Additionally, the marker ties in with the present by emphasizing the current state of the school.

The White Hall School marker in Longview clearly ties into the local origin story and connects it with origin stories throughout the state by saying, “As communities were

developed by early settlers in Texas, small rural schools were established.”⁶⁰ In this way collective memory is created by tying into larger narratives. The same marker connects the heritage site to national collective memories as well. A portion of the marker reads:

A community gathering place, it hosted civic as well as scholastic activities. Many local residents credit the school with promoting a sense of community when the children of pioneer Anglo families and those of German immigrant families attended classes together during the time of the first World War. After serving the community through the difficult years of the Depression and two World Wars, White Hall School was closed in 1949.⁶¹

The Depression and World Wars are solid within the collective consciousness of Americans, providing a strong foundation for the local narrative because the events are already accepted as part of the audience’s collective memory. Like many of the marker texts, this narrative describes the educational facility as providing a service for the community, suggesting that it is integral to the formation of the community as it is today. Thus, it is an essential piece of heritage.

Often education and religion are used together to foster a collective memory.⁶² This is clearly evident in the marker for the Thorton Community Church which states that, “much of life was centered around the Thorton Church and School”⁶³ This also exemplifies the notion that these entities both created and defined communities. The marker for the Lamar School asserts that it “reflects the pioneer educational, social, and religious growth of the community.”⁶⁴ This not only reflects the importance of the

school, but also instills the site with values by tying it to the area pioneers and religion. Another example appears on the Winterfield Methodist Church marker which says, “facilities including an education building have served the church. The congregation sponsors a number of outreach programs and activities and continues to provide civic and religious leadership for the community.”⁶⁵ Connecting the site with multiple values assists in crafting a strong bond between the heritage site and the surrounding community. Once again, the building itself is said to ‘serve’ a community. This language helps to foster appreciation not only for a community, story, or memory, but the physical location as well. As an entity that focuses on preserving both tangible and intangible heritage, the THC would benefit from utilizing this kind of language. The confluence of multiple themes and carefully chosen language makes many of these texts especially helpful in the creation of a collective heritage.

Religion

Religion is yet another unifying concept used frequently throughout the historic markers. As previously mentioned, religion frequently appears in convergence with the previously addressed themes. Religion is a powerful connector and is often a value that is lived passionately. The rich history of many religions offers a wealth of preexisting collective memories and narratives. Thus, it makes sense that the sites and stories about religion would serve to enrich and strengthen the collective memory and identity of a group. Though not as prevalent as the other themes, religion still appears on markers from varying time periods (shown in Table 2.7).

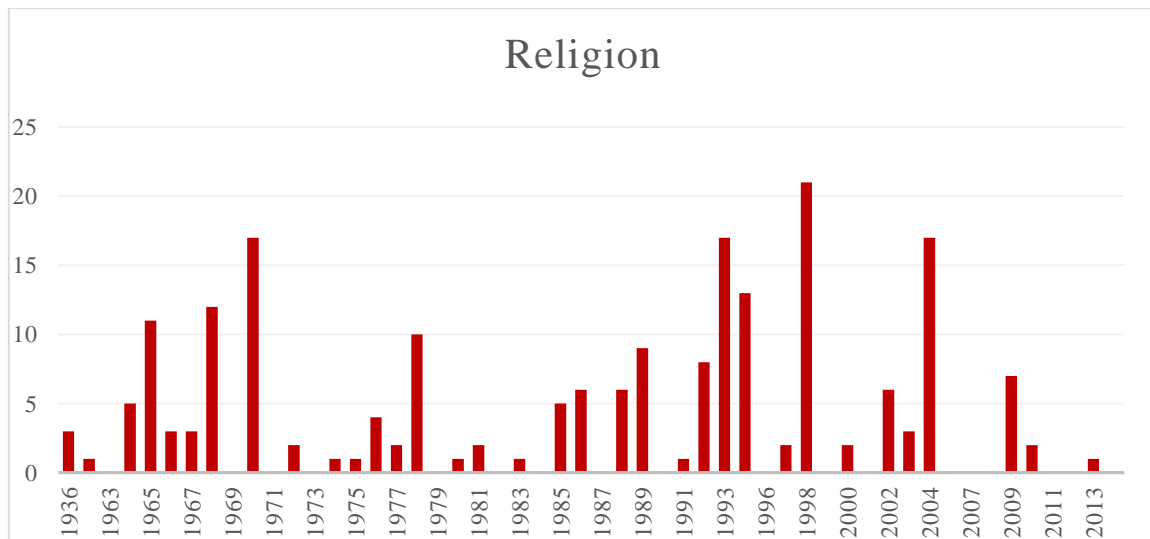


Table 2.7 This chart shows the instances in which family appears in relation to the year the markers were erected.

Like many of the religious buildings, the First Baptist Church of Raymondville is cited for its many contributions to the community. Because religious groups can be limited to a small group of people, the authors of the text must show how the heritage site contributed to a larger audience in order for the site to be useful to the overall collective heritage. Numerous markers commemorating religious buildings include a similar statement at the end that reflects this idea.⁶⁶ An example at the First Baptist Church of Moody asserts that the church “has contributed much to the heritage of the surrounding area.”⁶⁷ Similarly, the Midway Church of Christ boasts that it “has long played a role in the cultural history of Madison County.”⁶⁸

Many of the texts that mention religion appear on markers adorning church buildings or building sites. However, religion is often used to enhance the significance

of other heritage sites. For instance, there are numerous markers adorning Masonic lodges which mention religion. The religious aspect of the Masonic tradition is both explicitly and subtly stated; either way, the Masons offer another historically situated community through which to connect sites with memory. One Lodge marker points out that the space was also used for the local Baptist church and that the group's "funds have aided distressed members, widows, and orphans; bought war bonds; and supplied scholarships."⁶⁹ Here the notion of service to the community is again expressed within a religious frame. This also occurs on the marker adorning the Tom Hill House which mentions his service as a leader in the First United Methodist Church.⁷⁰ Another example appears on a building on the campus of Southwestern University which notes that its namesake, Laura Kuykendall, lived an "exemplary Christian life" which contributed to the university naming the building after her.⁷¹

Overall, religion is generously used throughout marker texts. Yes, at times, this is because the buildings serve a religious purpose, but there are often instances where religion and religious values are utilized to contextualize a heritage site without religious purpose. The frequency of markers on religious buildings is also telling of the influence it has on the collective heritage of Texas.

As cited throughout this discussion, the answer to the question "what do we value?" is clearly dictated through the historic marker texts as community, family, progress, education, and religion. And each of these themes works with the others to enrich the collective memory of Texas. Bestowing these valued themes on historic sites helps formulate collective heritage by representing the group's history and identity

through physical space. It must be stated, however, that this discussion merely represents those ideals dominant throughout the present sample. Less frequent themes appear throughout the texts, like service and resilience, and it is highly probable that there are more throughout the 25,000 existing markers in Texas. It should also be noted that because the THC chooses which sites receive a marker, they are not only the authors of the text, but have full authority over what *types* of buildings/sites/stories are commemorated with a marker. Thus, buildings that serve a specific purpose, such as a school or church, are still part of the act of heritage creation, which determines heritage consumption. Through their commemoration and carefully crafted narratives, the THC influences the creation of collective heritage within Texas.

The Problem of Underrepresentation

From the numerous examples presented throughout this discussion it has probably become apparent that certain groups are represented more frequently and in more flattering language throughout the existing historical marker texts. There is an obvious group whose heritage is dominant: Caucasian males. This is an issue that has been prevalent throughout historical documentation and commemoration throughout the nation. The stories of this particular group are perpetuated and the viewpoint of people outside of this ‘norm’ are not considered or represented as regularly. The wording of many historic markers could even be considered offensive today because of the manner in which certain groups are discussed. This impacts the formation of a collective heritage because it can cause cursory groups to reject the presented narrative. This creates what Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge call dissonance within a heritage site.⁷²

In dissonance there is a battle for power which is manifest in the form of the dominant narrative. Within one site, there could be any number of associated narratives.

Obviously, every memory is not (and should not) be part of the collective because they are personal. However, when a specific community feels neglected within the official narrative, this can cause outright rejection or dismissal. While it would be impossible for every individual to feel wholly represented through the collective memory, the uprising of ignored cultures can create a major problem for authoritarian entities such as the THC. The questions *Whose history? Whose memory?, and Whose heritage?* are an ever-present struggle.

The THC has not ignored the present dissonance. In fact, they have implemented initiatives throughout the past twenty years which attempted to involve underrepresented groups. While this action is appreciated, it does not yet seem like enough. While this problem is widely known and accepted, it has not been adequately addressed through the historic markers. The fact remains that the memory of white males still dominates the markers. Furthermore, offensive and oppressive texts remain untouched, still radiating authority and contributing to collective memory. Lowen points out that some of the markers even contain glaringly obvious fallacies and misinterpretations of history.⁷³ The following discussion will attempt to point out a few instances of heritage dissonance and bias.

Who Has the Power?

One of the major ways that under- and misrepresentation appears is through the assignment of power. This is achieved by associating certain groups with power-laden

themes and values. Anico and Peralta state that heritage is “closely linked with power and is an influential device in the construction of nation-states ...”⁷⁴ Recognizing this power dynamic is critical to conceptualizing the underlying messages within many marker texts. The major ideals associated with power are business, community, education, government, money, ownership, and religion. Tables 2.8 and 2.9 show comparison of these ideals between the dominant group and three underrepresented groups (Native Americans, African Americans, and women). Across the state, the narratives of these groups are presented in opposition to power, in a false context or simply not presented at all.

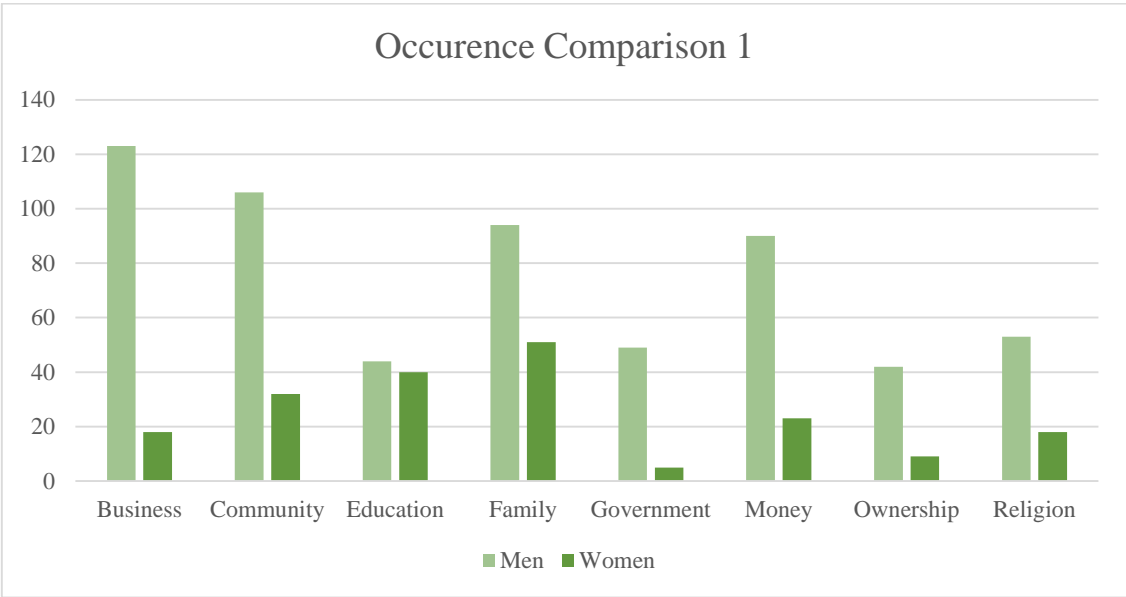


Table 2.8 This graph shows the number of times men and women appear as subjects across all reviewed historic markers.

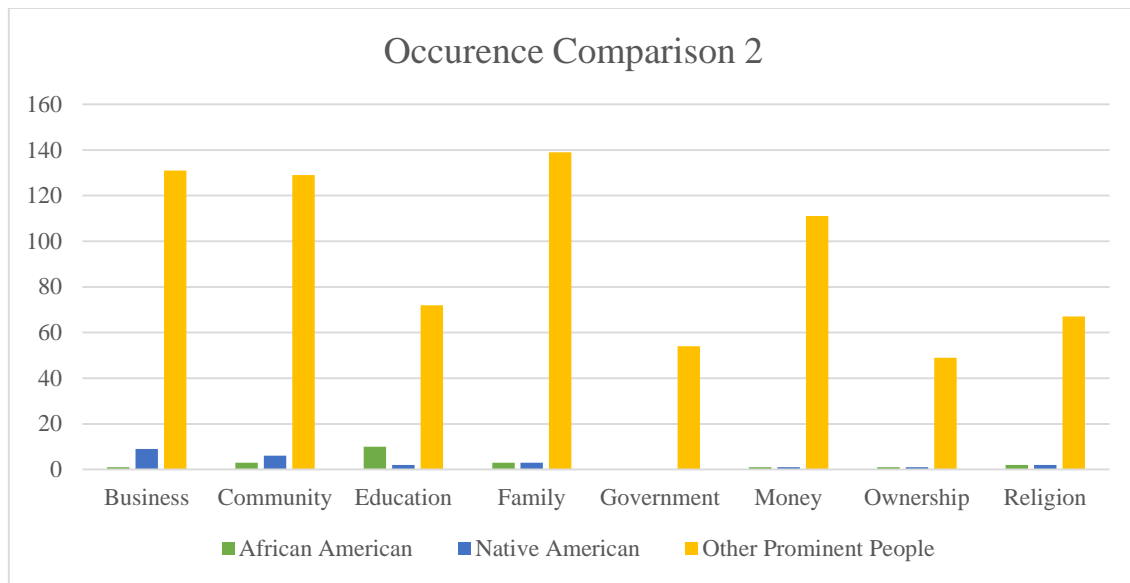


Table 2.9 This graph shows the number of times African Americans and Native Americans as subjects in relation to other prominent people mentioned in historic marker texts.

While the disparities between men and women are not as great as the other groups, they still exist. And the simplicity of counting the mentions does not paint a complete picture of the problem. There are many times when women are mentioned within the context of power value, but are still suppressed through the language and style of the text. This comes from the tendency for women to be solely mentioned in the context of men. For example, women will be mentioned as the wife or daughter of a prominent man.⁷⁵ This often means that the women's significance is reliant on the significance of the man. This is apparent in a previously used text for Laura Kuykendall who is given the prefix "Miss" on the marker, thus defining her by her lack of marriage.⁷⁶ On the other hand, Elizabeth Gordon is given the prefix "Mrs.," defining

her by her marriage.⁷⁷ Many women, like Mary Hogan,⁷⁸ are mentioned for their marriages and children, but nothing else.⁷⁹

An interesting historic marker presents a narrative in which two underrepresented groups are portrayed poorly in favor of the Caucasian male narrative. The Site of the McLaurin Massacre reads:

On April 19, 1881, Catherine "Kate" Ringer McLaurin (sometimes McLauren) was with her three small children and 14-year-old Allen Lease in the garden when a band of Lipan Apaches started to plunder her home. Lease, thinking there were pigs in the house, went to investigate the noise and was shot and killed. Catherine was also shot, dying hours later, but her children were unharmed. Maud, age 6, went for help because her father, John McLaurin, was away. Neighbors gave chase for 70 miles before soldiers from Fort Clark took command. Soldiers trailed the party into Mexico, reportedly killing all but two.⁸⁰

In this story, Native Americans are presented as a harsh enemy willing to hurt an innocent young boy and woman. Additionally, the woman is painted as helpless, mentioning that her husband was away. Though this story might have been erected to commemorate and honor the lives lost, the focus is placed on the soldiers. They become the heroes of the story and take the position of power within the narrative.

This dominance in power is continued throughout the markers. The language used places white males in a position of power making other people groups subordinate. A marker which memorializes a confederate general refers to Native Americans as

“savage Indians” and praises the general for successfully defeating them.⁸¹ The Peach Tree Village marker states, “With the coming of white settlers, the Alabama Indians withdrew, and the remnant of that tribe is now located about 15 miles south -- occupying the only Indian reservation in Texas.”⁸² This clearly places the white settlers in the position of power by stating that the tribe “withdrew” and stating that they ended up on a reservation, a construction used to control Native Americans. The Lone Wolf Mountain marker also speaks of control:

Named for Chief of Kiowa Indians, held hostage by General Custer after the Washita campaign. Later released. Swore revenge on white man after son was killed. A clash took place on El Paso Road north of Ft. Concho, the location of Lone Wolf Mountain. Chief died 1879.

This narrative places all of the power in the hands of the white settlers by showing that they dominated the Chief once by capturing him, and again by explaining that he was never able to avenge his son. Not only does the language demonstrate this power dynamic, but the sentence structure does as well. The short nature of the phrases makes the story abrupt and unfeeling. This structure seems to suggest that the death of this particular human is meaningless. This is a style that is used on many markers from the same time period. While it may have been used to save room on the marker, the effect it has on the narrative must be considered. The same story told in a different style could be quite different.

While the previous paragraphs examined language used in the markers, one of the major ways groups are underrepresented in historic markers is simply being absent

from narratives. As tables 2.8 and 2.9 revealed, the dominant group is simply mentioned more, allowing their heritage to become dominant at a particular site. This issue cannot be ignored and greatly impacts the perpetuation of one group's dominance over another.

Conclusion

The markers mentioned above provide only a few examples of how the marker texts assign power and subordination. Individually historic marker texts may seem insignificant to the suppression of groups or perpetuation of power dynamics. However, when viewed together, the range of these texts is evident. Seeing one marker with a racially insensitive text could simply be attributed to prevailing viewpoints at the time of the marker's creation. But an extensive survey of the texts like the present one reveals just how widespread the issue actually is. Even some of the most seemingly innocent texts can present a problematic narrative.

The rhetorical force of these markers lies in their innocent demeanor, state authentication, and prevalence. On the surface, the markers appear to simply commemorate historic sites and provide factual information about the sites. However, a closer look reveals underlying values, dominant themes, and existing underrepresentation. While not all values and themes are negative, they can be used to shape opinions for the good of one group over another. Additionally, some dominant themes only reflect the values one group, thus perpetuating the notion that only the dominant group's values matter. The lack of heritage sites dedicated to groups outside of the dominant group also presents a major problem and reveals the underlying biases that have ruled the state's history. This content analysis uncovered some of the ideals

within the text that might not surface through a cursory reading. In addition, it brought to light the fact that some of the themes, values, and biases are extremely prevalent in markers across the state. Finally, it showed how a text can appear pure and true while perpetuating negativity and suppression.

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CHAPTER III

FROM HISTORY TO HISTORIC MARKER

Located in the Texas Historical Commission Library in Austin, TX are the files for every historic marker produced by the THC. These files include various documents related to the historical marker creation process. Depending on the property, the files might contain the original marker application, carbon copies of marker approvals by THC historians, historic photographs of the site and related people, copies of land deeds, letters, property maps, and dictation of oral histories. Additionally, some files include correspondences between local groups and the THC. However, the main document is the complete history provided for the marker application. This document is prepared by a person or group on the local level and is intended to make the case of significance for the heritage site. These documents can vary in length, but must be satisfactorily comprehensive. The file for the Frost Bank Building in San Antonio includes a letter from the THC to the local preservation society asking for more information about the history of the building.¹ The society was forced to conduct more research and submit a second history narrative in order for the site to be considered for a historic marker.

While the general public is not exposed to the full histories (unless they seek out the information), the marker texts are generated from the information provided in the completed documents. It can be concluded that the marker texts are heavily impacted by the historic narratives. However, the THC still has full authority over the final marker text. This creates an interesting dynamic. Many factors could influence the production of historic marker narratives: the background and interest level of the author(s), existing

biases of the author(s), political interest and investment, available money for the project (which may influence the size of the marker), and existing protocol for writing narratives. These factors are influential during each phase of the process, meaning they are continuously shifting as different people participate in the process. Fully grasping the individual influences on the narratives would require detailed investigation into each of the previously mentioned factors. The present research acknowledges the shifting influences, but does not delve into them. The focus is instead on understanding the process and demonstrating the power of the author.

To better understand the dynamic between historic narrative and marker text, it is appropriate to examine the differences between the full historic narrative and the marker text. This will be accomplished by examining three case studies. A close reading will be conducted of both the historic narrative and the existing marker text utilizing the method employed in the previous chapter. Underlying themes and values will be compared between the two narratives in order to bring to light the differences between the official narrative and the historic narrative. This will lead to a discussion about the possibilities within the narrative in contrast with the selection presented in the marker text.

The Driskill Hotel

Much of Texas History has been made within the Walls of the Driskill Hotel.

- The Original Driskill Hotel Story, 1966²

The history of the Driskill Hotel is told quite differently from the other two selected case studies. Rather than writing the history in narrative form, the author chose to simply compile snippets from historic accounts of the building. While this originally seemed like a strange approach, it actually created a compelling tale told through various accounts including marketing materials, personal letters, and newspaper publications. This chosen style results in a unique style that is quite different, necessarily so, from the narrative included on the historic marker. This thirty-one page narrative told through multiple voices, was reduced to five simple sentences. This required reduction necessitates a distillation of the history and a transformation of voice.

Short excerpts are patched together to create a comprehensive narrative that follows the Driskill from land purchase to the mid-1920's. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story" commences with the story of how Colonel Driskill purchased the land for the hotel. Because much of the narrative is composed of excerpts from advertisements, it is highly complementary, perhaps overly so, of the Driskill. The hotel is touted as "The most complete hotel in the South,"³ "the pride of Austin,"⁴ and "The finest structure south of St. Louis."⁵ Rather than stating the significance of the Driskill in the present, these statements support the significance of the Driskill in the past. What might have

seemed inflammatory in the present tense, supports the argument for significance through an authentic historic voice.

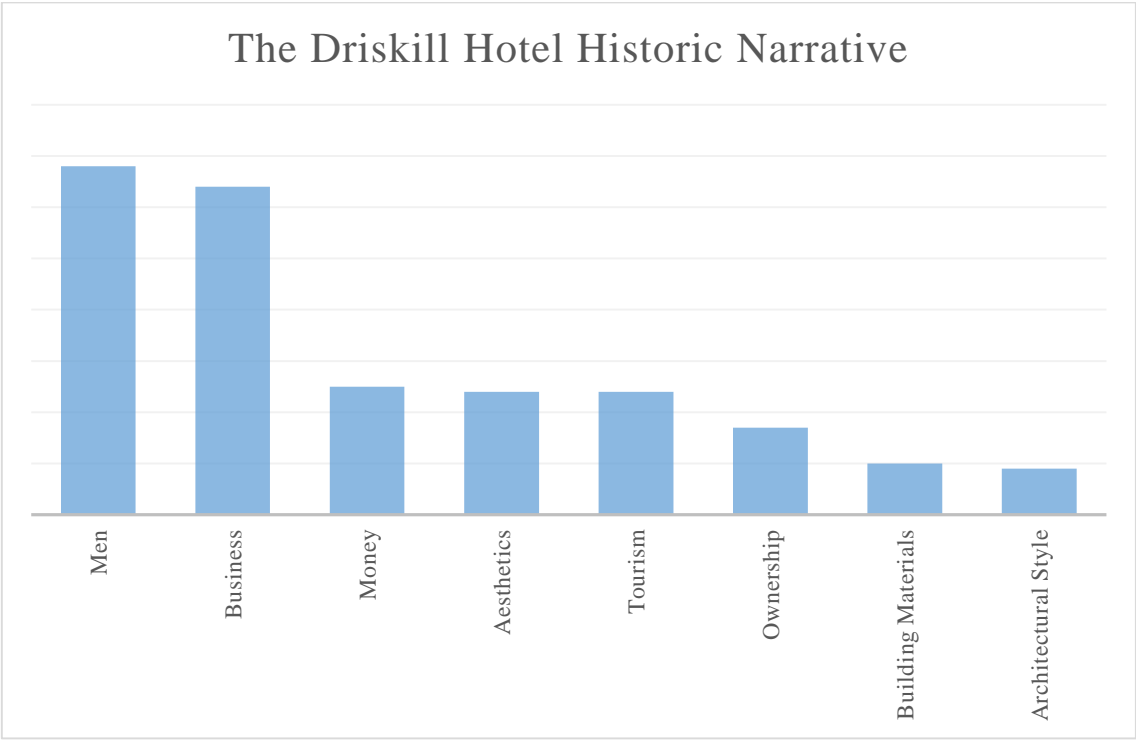


Table 3.1 Comparison of existing values and themes within the Driskill narrative.

Not only does the narrative explicitly state that the Driskill is important, but its significance is also shown through several dominant themes and values (see Table 3.1). The narrative focuses heavily on the business aspects of the hotel. This includes mentioning changes in management, ownership, and leadership. This includes changes in wait staff, porters, and even chefs. Additionally, the Driskill has been host to many

different businesses such as a laundromat, salon, café, and spa; all of which are included in the historic narrative. Often discussion of business included discussion of money. The mention of money provided more support for the building's significance. It states that, "The Driskill, when completed will have cost about \$350,000."⁶ Revealing the cost of the hotel offers insight into its worth from a monetary standpoint. Throughout the provided narrative, the hotel was sold and remodeled several times, and each mention included the cost. The consistent mention of money works to support the histories overall purpose: to prove that the building is significant and worthy of historic designation.

The most prominent subject, besides the hotel itself, is people. The history is littered with stories about all kinds of people and their association with the hotel. Similar to the findings from the content analysis, the majority of the people discussed were men. The history offered tales of people who helped build the hotel, worked for the hotel, stayed in the hotel, and one curious story even discussed a family who consistently lived in the hotel for thirty years.⁷ Particular attention is given to famous personalities who visited the hotel, such as L.L Magnus a champion billiard player. The story attests that, "Governors have walked through its lobby arm-in-arm with legislators and confidential advisers, on their way to Conference" and "Judges have pondered over legal problems there."⁸ In addition to a general connection to people in power, the narrative mentions one government official in particular: Governor W.P. Hobby. His inaugural ball is claimed to be "The crowning social function of the Driskill's history," even though the hotel has been host to a number of other inaugural balls and events.⁹

All of these stories are capped with the claim that, “The Driskill Hotel, during its long existence, has been visited probably by more people of Texas than any other institution of its class in the State.”¹⁰

Throughout these tales the beauty of the Driskill is continuously mentioned. Descriptions of the building’s lavish interiors including ornate ceiling frescos and rich wood detailing are sprinkled throughout the history. Great detail about the building materials and construction methods are provided. The history even mentions the name of the company who fired the bricks. The Romanesque architectural style and architects, J. N. Preston and Son, are praised several times in the narrative. The extravagance of the hotel’s overall design is cited as the main draw of the hotel. In January of 1907 after a thorough remodel, the hotel was said to be “in fact one of the most attractive and comfortable hotels in Texas.”¹¹

Overall, the narrative presents the history of the Driskill through various voices, almost always in the present or future tense. The history focuses on the many different aspects of business involved with the hotel between its conception through the mid 1920’s. It focused on the different costs associated with building and its various remodels, which helped to establish the building’s monetary worth throughout its history. The history also featured many stories about individuals associated with the hotel. Additionally, the history highlighted the aesthetic value and architectural significance of the site. All of these factors worked together to support the argument that the Driskill is significant; making it deserving of historic designation.

Historic Marker Text

The shortened narrative presented on the historic marker presents a different focus than the extended historic narrative. The history offers many possibilities for focus, making the role the THC plays in the process meaningful. From the history provided, as well as their own research, the THC crafted the historic marker text. Some of the dominant themes and values present in the historic narrative are also present in the marker text, however some play a lesser role and some are neglected completely. Through an evaluation of this difference, a stronger case can be made for the impact the THC plays on the collective heritage of Texas.

The Driskill Hotel

Built 1885-86 by Col. Jesse L. Driskill (1824-1890), cattle king who moved to Austin in 1869. Brick dressed with limestone. Had three grand entrances -- one the largest arched doorway in Texas. "Ladies' Entrance" was on northeast. Bust of Col. Driskill is over south arch, busts of his rancher sons on east and west. Rich furnishings were selected by Col. Driskill, who leased out his hotel -- Southwest's finest when it opened, Christmas 1886.

Recorded Texas Historic Landmark - 1966¹²

The first noticeable difference between the marker and the history is the narrative voice. Due to the chosen narrative style of the history, which involved multiple historic, rather than one coherent voice, the marker text had to be differentiated as one coherent narrative voice. The patchwork narrative of the history would not coherently translate to the condensed marker text. Instead, the marker text is presented clearly and concisely, in

a voice reminiscent of other markers produced at the same time.¹³ This style favors brevity over flourishes, even at the expense of proper grammar. This could be a reflection of the small size of the marker, as well as adherence to a universal style. Either way, the shortened sentences establish a mood for the narrative, and thus, the heritage site itself. Around the time that the Driskill was nominated as a historic landmark, a new owner was proposing to transform the historic hotel with a modern addition.¹⁴ This plan threatened the historic integrity of the hotel, making designation an important step. The need for designation may have influenced both the historic narrative and marker text.

Like the history, the marker text focuses on telling the story of prominent people. Rather than presenting many stories, the marker offers the story of one particular person: Colonel J. L. Driskill. While Driskill is the building's namesake, his involvement in the hotel beyond having the building built was minimal, yet he is the main focus of the text. While the historic narrative paints a more holistic picture, telling stories about different types of people, the marker text uses only one person as a character in the narrative. Obviously it would be impossible to include all of the stories, but this does highlight the change in prominence that occurs when something is mentioned in the marker text. The significance of Colonel Driskill is amplified by its proportion in the condensed narrative.

This amplification is not limited to Driskill, but extends to many of the factors mentioned. The majority of the text is dedicated to the aesthetics and architecture of the building. While these played a large role in the historic narrative, they were in no way the main focus. However, the marker text discusses the building materials, the arched

entryways, the decorative busts of Driskill and his sons, and even the quality of the interior furnishings. All of this information helps make the case that this building is architecturally significant. Lifted directly from the history, the marker mentions that one of the arches was “one of the largest arched doorways in Texas.”¹⁵ The sentence is cleverly crafted to exclude the words “was” or “is,” allowing the descriptive phrase to remain in the present even if the fact is no longer true. The emphasis on the design features of the building allow a wide audience to understand the significance and helps make the case for the hotel as “Southwest’s finest when it opened.”¹⁶

While some subjects are amplified through their presence, others are diminished through their absence from the marker text. One major factors that is neglected in marker text is business. A major subject of the historic narrative, the business side of the Driskill is merely suggested on the marker through reference to its lease. This absence supports the notion that the choices made by the marker’s author can alter interpretations of the historic site. Rather than presenting the Driskill’s history as a changing business, it is portrayed as a stagnant site whose contribution to heritage rests in its founder and is dependent upon its aesthetic quality.

The difference between the two narratives is expected, yet revealing about the impact of the change in authorship. The focus of the Driskill’s history was altered for the shorter historic narrative. This shift can craft a completely different narrative, inflating subjects and characters beyond their historic significance or diminishing them completely. This then alters the collective memory of the site, and thus its contribution

to heritage. The collective heritage then includes the same historic site, but its interpretation is newly constructed within the realms of the available narrative.

Kaufman County Poor Farm

The Kaufman County Poor Farm is one example of the early American approach to poverty. The farm was utilized to house paupers of the county after the United States government decreed that each county was responsible for caring for residents in poverty. The Poor Farm was designed to put people to work, essentially re-entering society as productive citizens, rather than simply offering people in poverty money from the county. This approach to caring for the poor was utilized throughout the state. This particular poor farm site is significant on the local level because of its impact on and service to the community. It is also significant to the state, as it is considered one of the most complete poor farms remaining in the state.

The Kaufman County Historical Commission prepared and submitted the application for the historic marker in 1997 and it was subsequently approved. The narrative submitted with the application was written by Horace P. Flatt, the Marker Chairman for the commission. Much of the information provided in the narrative was retrieved from minutes of the commissioner's court, the local newspaper, and personal interviews. The narrative begins by explaining the history of poor farms in general, then moves to the history of the Kaufman County Poor Farm. While several details are missing from the narrative, such as when certain buildings were built or when the last pauper was committed to the farm, it offers a fairly comprehensive history of the farm throughout the years of operation.

The narrative of the history is quite different than that of the Driskill's narrative. Rather than piecing together information directly from the source, the Kaufman narrative was crafted by one person who compiled the information. Thus, there is one dominant voice throughout the narrative which attempts to make connections between the available pieces of information. The narrative is mostly chronological except for a section which details the viewpoint of a local judge who had firsthand knowledge of the farm and its operations.

Several themes and values dominate the Kaufman County Poor Farm narrative (see Table 3.2). Because a great deal of information comes from minutes of commissioner's court, the narrative focuses on government action. This focus presents the story of the poor farm from a specific viewpoint which may influence the way the site is received. Throughout the story, the many actions taken by various levels of government are highlighted. Focus on government involvement in the farm not only gives the local government credit for the benefits provided by the farm, but also offers a focus on results. The story focuses on the benefits the community gained from the establishment of the poor farm.

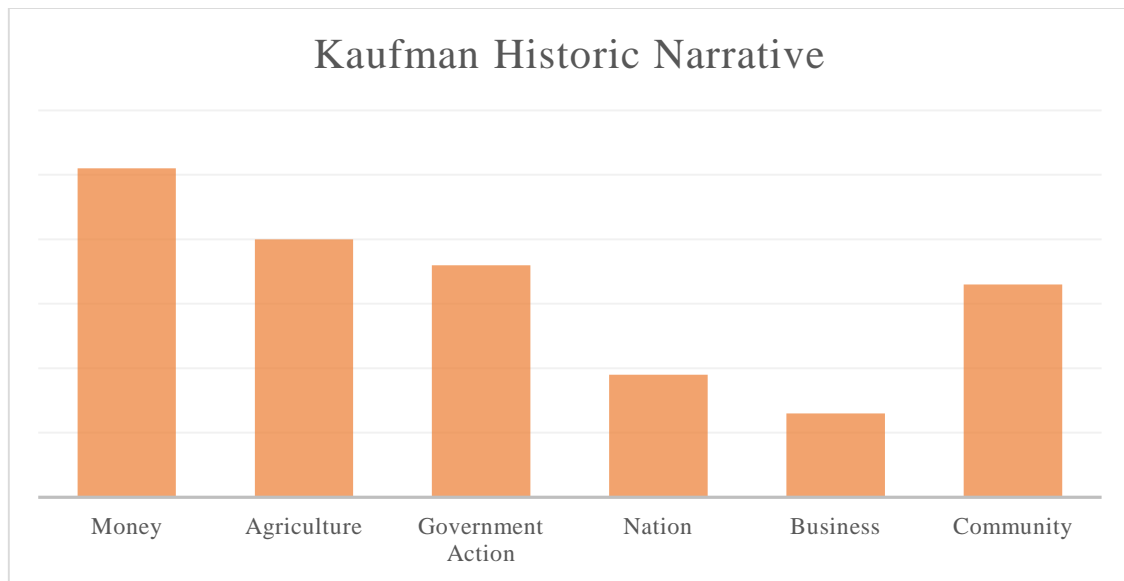


Table 3.2 *Comparison of existing values and themes within the Kaufman County Poor Farm narrative.*

The value of community is continuously present in the story. The narrative begins by articulating the problem that in Kaufman County there were poor individuals who had no family or support. Because of the legislation crafted by the national government those people had to be cared for which at the time meant giving them money. The story cites a *Kaufman Sun* newspaper article from 1883 which stated that, “On an average there is over two thousand dollars spent annually for the boarding and clothing of paupers ...”¹⁷ The Poor Farm is then presented as a solution to this monetary burden. It is suggested that the poor farm would help the paupers become self-supporting, thus reducing the burden on the community. Beyond this argument that the poor farm was beneficial to the community, the narrative also cites evidence that the farm provided services for the community such as road construction, building repairs,

and convict reformation. Prisoners who had committed misdemeanors were sometimes required to work on the farm, and it was believed that the manual labor would deter criminals from reentering a life of crime once released. All of this offered numerous benefits to the community, strengthening the argument that this historic site is significant.

Obviously, one of the major subjects throughout the narrative is money. The creation of the site itself is based on a group of people not having money. In addition to the obvious mention of poverty and paupers, the narrative is very specific about the amounts of money used to purchase the land, maintain the site, purchase supplies, and pay employees. This necessitates that money and agriculture be often mentioned in tandem. This openness may be contributed to the site being managed by the government, forcing monetary transparency. Whatever the reason, it is clear that money is significant to the story on several levels.

The significance of the site is also strengthened by numerous connections to the present. Throughout the narrative, the author compares the historic struggles with those faced by the contemporary government. This essential aspect of the story reminds the reader that the underlying issues of poverty and prisons is ever-present. Preserving this piece of that history is important for not only the present, but the future as well. The author presents this through the perspective of Judge Schumpert who “recalls the poor farm as an asset; its time may have passed, but there are lessons to be learned from its operation.”¹⁸ This reflects the notion of heritage as dynamic and present-driven.

Historic Marker Text

The historic marker for the Kaufman County Poor Farm does a decent job of maintaining the history presented in the narrative. Many of the dominant themes of the narrative are represented in the historic marker text. There are, however, a few instances in which a subject is represented differently or incompletely. The text of the marker reads:

Kaufman County Poor Farm

As did many Texas counties of the era, Kaufman County created a poor farm in 1883 in order to provide the indigent residents and families of the area with food, shelter, and medicine. This work program replaced earlier relief efforts. All able-bodied persons were required to work, including resident guards and county inmates convicted of minor crimes who were originally brought from the jail daily for labor; by 1893 they were housed on the farm. In the 1930s the farm was used to demonstrate new agricultural techniques. Usually filled to capacity, the farm operated until the 1970s. By 1997, a cemetery and a few buildings remained.

- THC Historic Marker, 1997¹⁹

The marker begins with a statement intended to connect the historic site to the history of the state in general. This statement also attempts to show the service the poor farm performed for the community by stating how people in poverty were cared for on the farm. While this connects to the value of community, it does not reveal that the county was required to take care of the “indigent residents and families.” This fact was

included in the narrative, but if mentioned on the marker, would lessen the value of community by revealing the true intentions behind the actions. This lack of information is further exploited in the next sentence which states that the poor farm was designed to replace “earlier relief efforts” which are never elaborated upon. While perhaps not intended to skew the interpretation of the site, this omission presents the poor farm in a different light than does the complete story.

In the brief form required for the marker, the text offers essential information about the farm. While the information does provide enough information for the reader to understand the farm’s purpose and who the paupers were, it highlights a few facts that played a minor role in the historic narrative. One instance is the mention that guards were required to work on the farm. In the extended narrative this fact seemed minor and suggested that guards were asked to work if extra help was needed, and they were paid for the additional work. However, the marker text elevates the fact on par with the paupers and convicts who worked the farm. Additionally, the marker makes mention that the farm was used to teach agricultural practices in the 1930’s. While this fact is interesting, it only warranted one sentence in the complete history, yet is included in the shortened marker text. While this may seem like a strange inclusion by the THC, it was actually included at the request of the local historical commission.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Kaufman County Historic Marker file was that it included correspondence between the THC and the local Marker Chairman. After the THC approves the application and checks the information for accuracy, they write a draft of the historic marker inscription. As could be expected, this draft is based

on the agreed upon marker size and THC style guidelines. This draft is then sent to the local historical commission for approval. In the case of the Kaufman County Poor Farm, the local commission did not approve the original text and asked for several revisions including the cited date for the creation of the farm and the inclusion of a statement about the agricultural demonstrations. In his letter to the THC, Flatt suggests that the latter should be included because it “potentially benefited all farmers in a highly developed agricultural county and I believe well worth mentioning as a positive contribution in another area.”²⁰ The fact that this notion was included in the final text shows that while the THC does hold the power in the situation, they do not abuse it. Although the THC has the final say on the marker inscription, the local commission also has a voice in the process. As stated earlier, as the instigator and researcher, the local commission actually wields power in the ultimate creation of collective heritage. In this particular case, the THC relinquished some of their power by deferring to the local group’s judgment about what facts were significant enough for inclusion.

Although this example reveals that the local historical commission directly influences the marker text, the THC still retains the final authority about the marker text. It also demonstrates the importance of the local commission in the marker process. Not only do they collect and compile the information used to write the text, but they are also given the opportunity to make suggestions and impact the final wording of the marker. In this particular case, the text differed from the narrative through its omission and inclusion of information. Both enhanced the value of community by making the farm seem beneficial to the local community on multiple levels. Even though this is true, the

marker narrative may project a rosier, more nostalgic version of the farm than complete history.

Houghton House

The Houghton House, built in 1914, is located in Potter County. At the time of the marker application, the house was owned by the Amarillo Junior League. Not only did they own the property, but they conducted the research, raised the money, and submitted the application for the historic marker. While the house was under consideration as a Texas Recorded Historic Landmark, it was also being considered for listing on the National Register. Both applications were accepted in 1980, resulting in two significant designations for the historic property.

The historic narrative for the property, written by Junior League member Martha Doty Freeman, is quite short in comparison to the other two case study narratives. Rather than elaborating about the history of site, the narrative focuses most of its attention on the people associated with it and its architectural significance. The narrative provides information about the original owner, the subsequent owner, and their family. It also offers a brief history of the architect who designed the home. Because the significance of the site seems to rest heavily on the architecture, this seems an appropriate choice for the narrative.

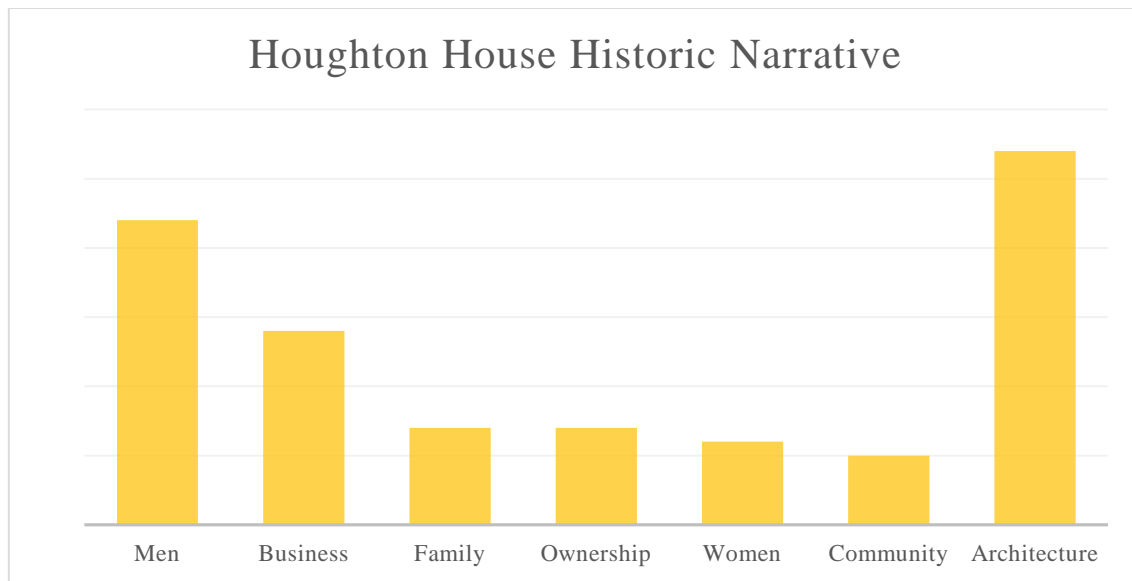


Table 3.3 *Comparison of existing values and themes within the Houghton House narrative.*

As shown in Table 3.3 the dominant themes are men, business, and architecture. Despite the fact that the last and present owners are female, men dominated the short narrative. It begins by explaining who John Malcolm Shelton is and why he was able to build such an extravagant home for himself and his family. The narrative goes into detail about his many business ventures and successes. He was such a dominant agricultural businessman that at one time his land stretched to two opposite borders of Texas. It was his business success that lead him to move to Amarillo and build his home in what is called one of the town’s “early fashionable neighborhoods.”²¹ The narrative then explains how Shelton’s choice of architect was a quality choice.

A focus on fame arises in the descriptions of Shelton as well as his chosen architect, J.C. Berry. The narrative states that, “The architect who designed Shelton’s

home was almost as well known in architectural circles as his client was in the world of ranching.”²² This elevates the notion of social standing in relation to the significance of the historic building. The portion of the narrative devoted to discussing the architect and his design is the largest of any of the subject areas. The details of the “eclectic Prairie Style” are pointed out briefly. Not only does the narrative talk about specific architectural and aesthetic details, but it also discusses the architect’s personal and professional history.

Although not as dominant as the previously mentioned notions, the ideas of family and ownership appear throughout the narrative. It is clear that continuous ownership by one family is important to the story of this building. This idea appears in many historic marker texts evaluated in the previous chapter. The home retains the name of Shelton’s daughter, Martha Shelton Houghton, who inherited the home and lived in the home approximately forty years. Thus, the Junior League of Amarillo who acquired the home from Houghton can certify that the Shelton-Houghton’s are the only family to ever live in the home. This emphasis on one family simplifies the history of the building, perhaps allowing for a shorter narrative. In addition, the retention of the home by one family allowed the Junior League to certify that very few changes were made to the home, making it a beautiful example of the built time period.

Historic Marker Text

The transition from historic narrative to marker text is not as dramatic for the Houghton House. The main reason is that the narrative was already brief, making the abbreviation more closely related to the original narrative than in the other two case

studies. There are some interesting differences worth noting including a change in narrative voice and the enhancement of some narrative elements. The marker text reads:

Houghton House

This two-story residence was constructed in 1914 for Kentucky native John Malcolm Shelton (1852-1923), a prominent Panhandle cattleman and businessman. Built by W.M. Rice, it was designed by Amarillo architect Joseph Champ Berry. Following Shelton's death, the house was inherited by his daughter Martha, the wife of rancher Ted Houghton. She resided here until 1965. Built of brick, the home features detailing of the Prairie Style.

- Recorded Texas Historic Landmark, 1980²³

One noticeable aspect of the marker text is its emphasis on the building itself. Although the marker rests on the front façade of the building, the author felt it was necessary to mention that the home is a two-story structure. The reader could simply look at the building to understand the number of stories, however, emphasizing the size of the building amplifies its status as a large home. Additionally, the text states that the home is built of brick. Again, this is a fact that could easily be understood by viewing the building. However, at the time, the use of brick as a building material for a home was a luxury, thus the building material actually emphasizes the status of the home.

Like the historic narrative, the marker text focuses on the people associated with the home. However, the importance of those people is shifted in the marker text. As previously noted, the narrative spends more time discussing the architect and contractor

than the man who had the home built. However, in the marker text, Shelton is mentioned twice. His distinction is also established through the use of the word prominent to describe him and his business success. The architect and builder do not receive the same praise, despite its definite presence in the full narrative. This elevates the importance of Shelton and diminishes the importance of the other two men.

In addition to these inconsistencies, the marker text also features a much tighter, shorter narrative style. The historic narrative features many flowery descriptions, such as the statement that the home “continued to function as a famous Amarillo social landmark.”²⁴ The marker, however, only features one descriptor, the word prominent, which is used to describe Shelton. This change of voice makes the marker text seem sterile, as opposed to the energy afforded the full narrative. While the differences between the marker text and narrative history are not extreme, they do exist.

Conclusion

This once again shows how the THC has the power to influence the collective memory of places and the associated people and events. Simple or seemingly innocent changes can clearly impact the overall impact of a historic site. This sways the overall collective heritage by altering the ways in which we utilize the past in the present. If a site’s story is altered, its contribution to the overall heritage is also changed. What may not have been impactful in the past can bellow into a significant factor. On the other hand, what may have actually been important can be diminished into having little to no role in the collective heritage of a group. The narratives that impact the collective must be in the public, thus it is the marker text rather than the complete narrative which truly

impacts collective heritage. The power, then, resides with those tasked to craft the historic marker texts.

Endnotes

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1. "Frost Bank," (Application for Official Texas Historical Marker, 1978).
 2. The document referred to as the historical narrative, history, or complete document was composed in partial fulfillment of the Application for Official Texas Historical Markers. This document is currently held in the THC library in Austin, TX. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," (Application for Official Texas Historical Marker, 1966), 30.
 3. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 7.
 4. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 9.
 5. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 5.
 6. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 6.
 7. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 29.
 8. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 30.
 9. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 31.
 10. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 30.
 11. "The Original Driskill Hotel Story," 26.
 12. *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "The Driskill Hotel," atlas.thc.state.tx.us. Marker erected 1966 in Austin, TX.
 13. Examples of other historic marker texts with a similar style include: *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "Anson Opera House," atlas.thc.state.tx.us. Marker erected 1963 in Anson, TX; *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "Cookhouse – Muleshoe Ranch," atlas.thc.state.tx.us. Marker erected 1965 in Muleshoe, TX; *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "First Baptist Church," atlas.thc.state.tx.us. Marker erected 1965 in Dimmit, TX; *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "McGee Ranch House," atlas.thc.state.tx.us. Marker erected 1966 in Crane, TX.
 14. The Driskill, "About Us," 2015. Accessed May 16, 2015. www.driskillhotel.com
 15. *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "The Driskill Hotel," atlas.thc.state.tx.us.
 16. *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "The Driskill Hotel," atlas.thc.state.tx.us.
 17. Horace P. Flatt, "Kaufman County Paupers and the Poor Farm," (Application for Official Texas Historical Marker, 1997), 3.
 18. Flatt, "Kaufman County Paupers and the Poor Farm," 10.
 19. *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "Kaufman County Poor Farm," atlas.thc.state.tx.us. Erected 1997 in Kaufman, TX.

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20. Horace P. Flatt, letter to Emily Cole Bell of the Texas Historical Society, October 1997.
 21. Martha Doty Freeman, "Houghton House," (Application for Official Texas Historical Marker, 1980), 1.
 22. Freeman, "Houghton House," 2.
 23. *Texas Historical Survey Commission*, "Houghton House," atlas.thc.state.tx.us. Erected 1980 in Amarillo, TX.
 24. Freeman, "Houghton House," 3.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Cultural expressions without physical form have no life independent of the people who carry them.

- Ormand H. Loomis.¹

In all societies, collective memory practices are integral parts of local tradition and culture. While the tangible aspects of specific commutative cultures can easily be imitated internationally or cross-culturally, its intangible aspects can never be assumed to transfer automatically.

- Sabine Marschall²

Historic markers provide a fusion of tangible and intangible heritage. The building, landscape, or even just the marker itself offers a physical presence for heritage. The site is then enhanced through the addition of the intangible heritage: the narrative that is presented on the historic marker. This combination works together to form a memory site capable of impacting collective memory and heritage. It is clear from the literature review that the connection between cultural identity, memory, and heritage is forceful. There is almost a symbiotic relationship through which each depends upon the other. The tangible and intangible aspects of heritage are thus critical to the formation of cultural heritage and collective memory. For this reason, historic sites and their historic markers are influential aspects within a culture.

This framework of culture, memory and heritage is ideal for engaging with historic marker texts. These seemingly innocent cultural pieces carry a forceful presence. As many examples throughout this project have shown, these markers can be problematic. This issue is emphasized by how little impact they are actually considered to have. Not only are there approximately 15,000 of these markers, they are spread across the entire state. Their large presence allows them to reach a large audience, which is often not cognizant of the problematic nature. In addition to their widespread presence, these markers have a sense of authority provided by the official THC seal and quality marker construction. The markers are not wooden signs, fated to decompose in the elements; they are sturdy, cast signs intended to withstand the elements. The physical features of the markers affords them an essence of permanence, furthering their authority. Finally, the markers are created by an established governmental agency. This warrants them further authority. All of this enhances the power and impact of the marker texts.

The power of the signs can also be seen in the fact that they designate what pieces of tangible and intangible heritage are significant to a particular group. When the THC grants a historic marker, they are offering the historic site power over other sites. The designation of the Houghton House in Amarillo tells the public that this particular home and all of the people mentioned in the historic marker text are important to the history of the community and state. Thus, when the average person comes across a historic marker, they are being told that this site is important to this group's heritage; the

Houghton House is important to the history of Amarillo, while the other homes around it are not. Even if this might not be true, the power of designation makes it a possibility.

Based on this line of thought, it is clear that the THC has the power to tell the public what their heritage is and is not. Not only do they distinguish what tangible aspects are part of the Texas collective heritage, but they also provide the intangible aspect as well. Despite local groups conducting research and nominating sites for historic markers and RTHL designation, the THC writes the final historic marker narrative. Thus, while the local group can sway the collective memory based on their values and intentions, the THC has the ultimate say in how that information is presented to the public. Thus, the THC shows the public what sites are significant and tells the public the narrative about that site.

As a government entity, the THC holds authority. However, it is also subject to those higher up who allocate funding for the program. Because of this governmental hold over the program, it could be said that only certain types of heritage are recognized; those that are beneficial to the people and/or groups in power. This issue arises as a form of bias that dictated the creation of historic markers at different points in time.

This struggle of power leads to the ultimate questions: whose heritage is represented and what heritage is represented? These questions arise throughout heritage studies, as the majority of sites do not offer one clear heritage narrative. Tunbridge and Ashworth call this problem heritage dissonance.³ This dissonance is ever-present in the historic marker process as those in charge must decide which site deserves recognition and which narrative deserves to be told. Often there is no way to represent all of the

different narratives, causing some to be favored over others, adjusting the collective memory and heritage of a group. All of this ultimately leads to questioning the power held by the THC and the overarching values and themes presented on the historic markers. Through this questioning, the present research emerged.

Content Analysis

The content analysis was an attempt to understand what values and themes dominated THC historical marker texts. In order to discover these, one randomly chosen marker from each county in Texas was examined. Utilizing hermeneutic software, the texts were coded for values and themes, and then analyzed. While the analysis tools offered numeric occurrences of codes and words, the real analysis involved making sense of these occurrences within their context. Thus, the analysis of the marker texts was approached in relation to the theoretical framework of heritage, memory, and culture through the question “Does the THC construct collective memory and heritage through historic markers?”

The first way that collective memory and heritage are crafted through historic markers is through the Texas Origin Story. Much like in the creation of the national collective memory, the state needed a universal story on which to establish the collective heritage.⁴ Markers throughout the state were found to present this theme by telling stories about pioneers, original settlers, and westward expansion. This theme was not dependent upon the year the marker was erected: it varied both temporally and through location. Within the Texas origin theme, the values of perseverance, resilience, expansion, and progress also regularly appeared. By connecting with the well-

established collective identity of Texas, these markers and their associated values easily enter into collective memory and heritage.

In addition to explaining the origins of Texas, the historic markers also revealed what Texans value. The dominant values throughout the markers surveyed were community, education, family, progress, and religion. Each of these values appeared in the narratives on markers throughout the state and across the active marker designation years. The value of community was the most dominant value. This is not surprising because in order to maintain power over how collective memory is created, the authoritative group must continually reinforce the collectivity of the group. The second-most dominant value, family, also assists in the reinforcement of the collectivity. The notion of progress which appears in relation to the origin story, technology and settlement, is not quite as consistent as the other values. While it does appear on markers across the state, there are several low points in time. Education appears consistently and also helps establish the collectivity of the group because of its relationship to other integral values and themes. Several markers point out that often communities did not exist tangibly until a school or a church was established. This leads to the final dominant theme: religion. Like progress, religion has moments of inconsistency through time, but appears regularly throughout the state. All of these value themes work together to establish the identity of Texans and help determine the collective heritage of Texas.

The final factor discussed in the content analysis is the presence of bias. There are clear instances in which the marker texts are biased toward one group over another,

usually favoring Caucasian males. Often, there is a clear heritage dissonance present, and the same group's heritage is continually favored. This bias, though possibly the result of the underlying prevalent values at the time the inscription was written can act as perpetuations of stereotypes. In addition, the continual omission of a particular group's heritage perpetuates the notion that they are not important to culture or are less important than favored groups. The result is a suppression of one cultural heritage in favor of another. Overall, this content analysis revealed the dominance of certain values, themes, and biases across marker texts, which reinforce or create the collective heritage of Texas.

Case Studies

The purpose of the case studies was to examine the difference between the historic narratives created on the local level with the final marker inscriptions. This analysis was a response to the question about the power the THC holds in the creation of collective heritage through the historic marker process. The same method of coding the texts during a close reading was used to analyze the marker texts and the historic narratives. Then, the differences between the two texts were discussed within their contexts.

The narrative history and marker text for the Driskill Hotel were the most dissimilar of the three case studies. While the narrative focused on telling the stories of many people associated with the hotel, the marker text focused on only one. Additionally, discussion of business dominated the historic narrative, yet barely made an appearance on the marker text. While seemingly insignificant, the difference between the two texts dramatically alters the way the site is interpreted by inflating ideas and

people beyond their historic significant or even diminishing some completely. Thus, the collective memory of the site and the projected heritage is altered.

The Kaufman County Poor farm narratives were fairly similar. However, like the marker text for the Driskill, the inscription inflated certain aspects of the history that played a somewhat small role in the overall historic narrative. The case of Kaufman is especially interesting because of the role played by the local group. Rather than just accepting the narrative composed by the THC, the local commission asked for several changes, which were accommodated. This example shows that the power of the local group is not limited to the historic narrative alone.

The final case study, Houghton House, showed the least change from narrative to marker text. This might be the result of a short historic narrative. Although there was not much change in the information provided, a major change occurred in the narrative voice. While the original narrative utilized many adjectives to emphasize people and subjects, the marker used a flatter, more sterile voice. This change could influence how the narrative is perceived as it alters what the reader associates with subjects.

Overall, the case studies help illuminate the role of the THC in shaping collective heritage through historic marker texts. While the abbreviation is necessary, it is also altering. This is not to say that the THC purposefully alters the narratives to appease a secret agenda, it merely points out the power afforded them by their role in the historic marker process.

Implications for Future Research

All of the previous analysis leads to the question: is there value in a complicated history? The discussions point out that the historic markers present a narrative that is almost certainly distilled – causing particular values and groups to dominate the textual landscape. Thus, what this analysis seems to call for are narratives with more depth, more characters, more representations. However, this call would result in complicated histories; the kind of narratives that would not fit neatly on the widely utilized THC medallion and plate. Should we strive for complicated narratives in the future? Are there answers to this problem that rest within or outside of the existing historic marker system?

The present research only scratches the surface of this subject. Because of the force of these markers and narrow research on the subject, future research is recommended. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this study faced many limitations. It is limited in scope and does not address all of the possibilities. Future research should attempt to overcome these limitations through a more extensive analysis of marker texts. Additionally, any future research should include multiple coders to correct any existing researcher bias.

This study invigorates additional questions that could not be tackled here: How should we deal with historic markers that are biased? How would collective memory be influenced if the local groups wrote the marker texts instead of the THC? How much censorship do we want when it comes to the historic markers? The findings of the present research bring issues like these to the surface. The process of creating heritage

will always be filled with difficult decisions and dissonance, but talking about these issues academically could assist in the process. It is clear that the THC holds the ultimate power in the historic marker process, yet little research has been conducted about the process. Further analysis and future research could lead to a more inclusive and beneficial collective heritage for Texas.

Endnotes

1. Ormond H. Loomis, editor, *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States*, The American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, and National Park Service, 7.
2. Sabine Marschall, "Collective Memory and Cultural Difference: Official vs. Vernacular Forms of Commemorating the Past," *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 14, no. 1, (2013): 79.
3. Brian Graham, G.J. Ashworth, J.E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, (London: Arnold Publishers, 2000), 6.
4. Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta, "Introduction," in *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*, ed. Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta, (London: Routledge, 2009), 2.

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APPENDIX

HISTORIC MARKERS ANALYZED

The following table includes information about the historic markers analyzed in this project: the name/title of the marker, the city and county where the marker resides, the date the marker was erected, and whether or not the site is a Recorded Texas Landmark (1=yes, 0=no).

The information in the table below retrieved from the Texas Historic sites Atlas: *Texas Historical Commission*, "Texas Historic Sites Atlas: History on Your Desktop," atlas.thc.state.tx.us.

Name/Title	City	County	Date	RTL
Frankston Railroad Depot	Frankston	Anderson	1977	1
Irwin Ranch House	Andrews	Andrews	1967	1
Ryan Chapel	Diboll	Angelina	1964	0
Mathis House	Rockport	Aransas	1989	1
Dudley, The D. S. Show	Mankins	Archer	1974	0
Armstrong County Jail	Claude	Armstrong	1969	0
Cooper Chapter No. 101, Royal Arch Masons	Pleasanton	Atascosa	1971	0
Waddell-Dudensing-Bering Home	New Ulm	Austin	1974	1
Cookhouse - Muleshoe Ranch	Muleshoe	Bailey	1965	1
Huffmeyer Store, Old	Bandera	Bandera	1967	1
Orgain, B. D.	Bastrop	Bastrop	1981	1

Mary's Creek School	Bomarton	Baylor	2007	0
George Home	Beeville	Bee	1966	1
Maxdale Bridge	Killeen	Bell	1990	1
Argyle	San Antonio	Bexar	1972	1
Mount Horeb Baptist Church	Blanco	Blanco	1988	0
Mushaway Peak	Gail	Borden	2014	0
Union Hill School	Morgan	Bosque	1981	0
Ace of Clubs House	Texarkana	Bowie	1964	1
Sweeny Home	Angleton	Brazoria	1986	1
Odd Fellows University and Orphans Home	Bryan	Brazos	1972	0
Garcia-Valadez House	Alpine	Brewster	1968	1
Briscoe County Jail	Silverton	Briscoe	1967	1
First United Methodist Church of Falfurrias	Falfurrias	Brooks	1976	0
Brownwood Harvey House	Brownwood	Brown	1999	1
Cooks Point	Cooks Point	Burleson	1969	0
Galloway House, The	Burnet	Burnet	1981	1
Caldwell County Jail	Lockhart	Caldwell	1977	1

San Antonio and Mexican Gulf Railroad	Port Lavaca	Calhoun	1979	0
Point Isabel Lighthouse, Old	Port Isabel	Cameron	1936	0
Garrett, W. L., Building	Pittsburg	Camp	1990	1
Dugout, Pioneer	Panhandle	Carson	1967	1
Trammel's Trace	Hughes Springs	Cass	1967	0
Arney School	Nazareth	Castro	1985	0
Woolls Building	Center Point	Center Point	2001	1
Chambers County Youth Project Show	Anahuac	Chambers	1982	0
Ferguson-Ford Mill, Site of	Rusk	Cherokee	1999	0
Morgan Hospital	Childress	Childress	1982	1
1890 Clay County Jail	Henrietta	Clay	1986	1
Telephone Office in Cochran County, First	Morton	Cochran	1969	1
Bronte Depot	Bronte	Coke	1989	1
Rock House, Old	Santa Anna	Coleman	1975	1
Mathews General Store	Plano	Collin	2013	1
Bonnie and Clyde, Red River Plunge of	Wellington	Collingsworth	1975	0
Toliver-Cone House	Columbus	Colorado	1986	1

Riley's Tavern	New Braunfels	Comal	2013	0
De Leon Peanut Company	De Leon	Comanche	1994	0
Largest Pictograph Site in Texas	Paint Rock	Concho	1936	0
Houston House, The	Gainesville	Cooke	1966	1
St. John Lutheran Church	Coryell City	Coryell	1989	0
Cottle County Courthouse	Paducah	Cottle	2005	1
McGee Ranch House	Crane	Crane	1966	0
Ozona-Barnhart Trap Company	Ozona	Crockett	1974	0
Ralls, John Robinson, Building	Ralls	Crosby	1967	1
Figure 2 Ranch		Culberson	1993	0
Duke, Mrs. Cordia Sloan	Dalhart	Dallam	1969	0
Dallas Symphony	Dallas	Dallas	1993	0
Chicago	Lamesa	Dawson	1977	0
Hereford Christian College	Hereford	Deaf Smith	1966	0
Stegall, Thomas Wilson	Lake Creek	Delta	1968	0
Lacy Hotel	Denton	Denton	1973	0
Saint John Evangelical Lutheran Church	Cuero	DeWitt	1965	1

Anderson's Fort or Soldier's Mound	Spur	Dickens	1936	0
First Baptist Church	Carrizo Springs	Dimmit	1965	1
Mobeetie Trail, Old	Clarendon	Donley	1966	0
Valerio, Felipe, Store and Garage	San Diego	Duval	1993	0
Penn House	Cisco	Eastland	1988	1
Buffalo Wallow, Old	Odessa	Ector	1964	0
First Baptist Church of Rocksprings	Rocksprings	Edwards	1998	0
Oldest Mission in Texas	Ysleta	El Paso	1970	0
Oak Lawn School	Waxahachie	Ellis	1985	0
Thurber's First Coal Mine, Site of	Thurber	Erath	1994	0
Sacred Heart Catholic Church	Lott	Falls	2004	0
Kirkpatrick Home, Old	Whitewright	Fannin	1967	1
Nassau Plantation	Round Top	Fayette	1968	0
Royston Townsite	Roby	Fisher	1988	0
Commercial Hotel	Floydada	Floyd	1986	0
Foard County Courthouse	Crowell	Foard	2001	1
Moore Home	Richmond	Fort Bend	1962	1

Fairview Church and Cemetery	Mt. Vernon	Franklin	1994	0
Mt. Zion Methodist Church and Cemetery	Fairfield	Freestone	1968	0
Frio County Jail, Old	Pearsall	Frio	1970	1
Oil Industry in Gaines County	Seminole	Gaines	1979	0
Galveston "News," C. S. A.	Galveston	Galveston	1964	0
Dry-Land Farming	Post	Garza	1967	0
Luckenbach School	Luckenbach	Gillespie	1982	1
Glasscock County Courthouse and Jail	Garden City	Glasscock	1993	1
Goliad Advance-Guard		Goliad	1985	0
Remschel House	Gonzales	Gonzales	1997	1
Pampa City Hall	Pampa	Gray	1987	1
Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad	Denison	Grayson	1975	0
Winterfield Methodist Church	Longview	Gregg	1994	0
White Hall School	White Hall	Grimes	1989	0
Wilson Potteries	Seguin	Guadalupe	1985	0
Lamar School	Plainview	Hale	1981	0
Hotel Turkey	Turkey	Hall	1985	1

Miller, Andrew	Hamilton	Hamilton	1978	0
Brandt Building	Spearman	Hansford	1980	1
Hicks & Cobb General Merchandise Store	Medicine Mound	Hardeman	1999	0
Silsbee Ice Plant	Silsbee	Hardin	1991	1
Donoghue, Thomas J. and Mary, House	Houston	Harris	1994	1
Marshall Masonic Female Institute	Marshall	Harrison	1969	0
XIT General Office	Channing	Hartley	1964	1
Josselet Switch	Haskell	Haskell	2013	0
McGehee Crossing	San Marcos	Hays	1986	0
Moody Hotel	Canadian	Hemphill	1978	0
Pottery Industry, Henderson County	Athens	Henderson	1973	0
Laguna Seca Ranch	Edinburg	Hidalgo	1975	0
Hill County Jail	Hillsboro	Hill	1981	1
Primrose School, Site of	Ropesville	Hockley	1974	0
Lees-Bryan House	Granbury	Hood	1985	1
Sulphur Bluff	Sulphur Bluff	Hopkins	1968	0
First National Bank of Crockett	Crockett	Houston	1972	0

First National Bank in Big Spring	Big Spring	Howard	1990	0
Fort Hancock Mercantile	Fort Hancock	Hudspeth	1980	1
Wolfe's Mill	Wolfe City	Hunt	1971	0
Twentieth Century Club	Borger	Hutchinson	1993	0
Sherwood Courthouse	Sherwood	Irion	1971	0
Wizard Wells	Jacksboro	Jack	1980	0
Millican's, William, Gin House	Edna	Jackson	1936	0
Dewitt Clinton Lodge No. 29 A.F. & A.M.	Jasper	Jasper	1997	0
Hotel Limpia	Fort Davis	Jeff Davis	1994	0
Sabine Pass	Sabine Pass	Jefferson	1969	0
Old Garza Home	Hebbronville	Jim Hogg	1962	1
First Presbyterian Church of Alice	Alice	Jim Wells	1998	0
Yellow Jacket Stadium	Cleburne	Johnson	2010	1
Anson Opera House	Anson	Jones	1963	1
Helena Courthouse, Old	Helena	Karnes	1962	1
Moore, Dick P., House	Forney	Kaufman	1985	1
Ingenhuett, Paul	Comfort	Kendall	1979	1

Armstrong Ranch	Sarita	Kenedy	1983	0
Putoff Canyon	Jayton	Kent	1969	0
Fight of Sheriff's Posse with Cattle Rustlers	Junction	Kimble	1968	0
Roark, Leo	Guthrie	King	1962	0
Kinney County Courthouse	Brackettville	Kinney	2003	1
Taylor Camp Site	Kingsville	Kleberg	1963	0
Benjamin School	Benjamin	Knox	1966	1
Cotulla's First School	Cotulla	La Salle	2009	0
Paris Public Schools	Paris	Lamar	1984	0
Springlake-Earth School	Springlake	Lamb	1972	0
Smith House, Philip	Lampasas	Lampasas	1966	1
Moore Hotel	Moulton	Lavaca	1996	0
Trinity Lutheran Church	Fedor	Lee	1970	0
Concord Missionary Baptist Church	Concord	Leon	1970	1
Hill, Tom, House	Cleveland	Liberty	2010	1
Trinity University	Tehuacana	Limestone	1936	0
Follett	Follett	Lipscomb	1967	0

Three Rivers Glass Factory, Site of	Three Rivers	Live Oak	1973	0
Cassaday Grey Granite Company Office Building	Llano	Llano	1992	1
Mentone	Mentone	Loving	1967	0
Mast House	Lubbock	Lubbock	1983	1
Grasslands	Grasslands	Lynn	1970	0
Midway Church of Christ	Midway	Madison	2002	0
Marion County Depression Era Roadside Park	Jefferson	Marion	2011	0
Connell House	Stanton	Martin	1997	1
Art Schoolhouse	Art	Mason	1968	1
Sacred Heart Catholic Church	Wadsworth	Matagorda	1993	0
Simpson, Jr. S. P. House		Maverick	1972	1
Voca Waterwheel Mill	Voca	McCulloch	1972	0
First Baptist Church of Moody	Moody	McLennan	1985	0
Stringfield Massacre		McMullen	1968	0
Southern Pacific Depot of Hondo	Hondo	Medina	1980	0
Gallagher Ranch		Medina	1967	1
Frisco Depot	Menard	Menard	1978	1

Midland County's First Bank, Site of	Midland	Midland	1969	0
The Kay Theater	Rockdale	Milam	2013	1
Regency Suspension Bridge	Goldthwaite	Mills	1976	0
Lone Wolf Mountain	Loraine	Mitchell	1967	0
Brushy Mound	Bowie	Montague	1936	0
Willis Cigar Factory	Willis	Montgomery	1986	0
Masterson	Masterson	Moore	2010	0
Rocky Branch	Daingerfield	Morris	2002	0
Motley County Jail	Matador	Motley	1976	1
Federal Building / Post Office, Nacogdoches	Nacogdoches	Nacogdoches	1999	1
Navarro Rifles	Corsicana	Navarro	2007	0
Blum Male & Female College	Newton	Newton	1967	0
Simmons House	Sweetwater	Nolan	1987	1
Tarpon Inn	Port Aransas	Nueces	1979	0
Trading Post, Site of	Perryton	Ochiltree	1936	0
Historic LS, The	Vega	Oldham	1968	0
Wallace, Emma Henderson	Orange	Orange	2003	0
Strawn City Hall	Strawn	Palo Pinto	1994	1

Carthage Book Club	Carthage	Panola	2010	0
Parker County Poor Farm & Cemetery	Weatherford	Parker	1986	0
Friona Women's Clubs	Friona	Parmer	2004	0
Peacock	Peacock	Peacock	2003	0
Telegraph Office and School	Ft. Stockton	Pecos	1966	1
Livingston Telephone Company	Livingston	Polk	1985	0
Wild Horse Lake	Amarillo	Potter	1994	0
Marfa Stockyards	Marfa	Presidio	1988	0
Fraser Brick Company	Emory	Rains	1968	0
Wagon Yard, Site of	Canyon	Randall	1966	0
Grierson Springs		Reagan	1936	0
McLaurin Massacre, Site of	Leakey	Real	1968	0
Five Signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence	Clarksville	Red River	2009	0
Pecos Cantaloupe, The	Pecos	Reeves	1970	0
Woodsboro Square	Woodsboro	Refugio	1998	0
Miami Railroad Depot	Miami	Roberts	1979	0
Wootan Wells	Bremont	Robertson	1969	0

Royse City Lodge No. 663 A.F. & A.M.	Royse City	Rockwall	1994	1
Rock Hotel	Winters	Runnels	1982	1
Zion Hill Missionary Baptist Church & Cemetery	Henderson	Rusk	1978	0
James House	Hemphill	Sabine	2013	1
Red Lander Office	San Augustine	San Augustine	1968	0
Mount Moriah Lodge No. 37, A. F. & A. M.	Coldspring	San Jacinto	1990	0
Sharpsburg and Borden's Ferry	Odem	San Patricio	1991	0
Behrns West Texas Normal and Business College	Cherokee	San Saba	1966	0
First National Bank Building	Eldorado	Schleicher	1993	1
Scarborough, Alonzo Orrin; Site of Sanitarium of	Snyder	Scurry	1969	0
Hartfield Building	Albany	Shackelford	2000	0
Sardis School	Center	Shelby	2002	0
Removal of Archives From Coldwater to Stratford	Stratford	Sherman	1969	0
Tyler Carnegie Library	Tyler	Smith	2010	1
Snyder Sanitarium	Glen Rose	Somervell	1985	1
Kelsey, John Peter, Home	Rio Grande City	Starr	1966	1

Walker, Breckenridge Stephens, Home	Breckenridge	Stephens	1984	1
State Hotel - First State Bank	Sterling City	Sterling	1982	0
Mercantile Building, Old	Sonora	Sutton	1982	1
Tulia Depot	Tulia	Swisher	2010	1
Pioneer Birdville Schools	Halton City	Tarrant	1989	0
Weather Bureau Building, Old	Abilene	Taylor	1981	1
Terrell, General Alexander W.	Sanderson	Terrell	1963	0
Brooks Blacksmith Shop	Meadow	Terry	2003	0
Throckmorton County Courthouse	Throckmorton	Throckmorton	2008	1
Slaughter, W. R. M., Home		Titus	1965	1
Knickerbocker	Knickerbocker	Tom Green	1983	0
Brizendine House	Austin	Travis	1974	1
Thorton Community Church		Trinity	1988	0
Peach Tree Village	Chester	Tyler		0
Upshur County Discovery Well	Union Grove	Upshur	1967	0
T.P. Tavern	McCamey	Upton	2008	0
Knippa Trap Rock Plant	Knippa	Uvalde	1993	0
Brinkley Mansion	Del Rio	Val Verde	2003	1

Turner Baptist Church	Wills Point	Van Zandt	2009	0
Regan House	Victoria	Victoria	1966	1
A.F.&A.M. Forrest Lodge No. 19	Huntsville	Walker		0
Wyatt Chapel Community Cemetery	Prairie View	Waller	1991	0
Early Public Library, Vicinity of	Barstow	Ward	1967	0
Glenblythe Plantation	Brenham	Washington	1967	0
Farías House	Laredo	Webb	2009	1
Mick, G. C. and Clara Mick, Home	Wharton	Wharton	1965	1
Patton Rock Barn	Wheeler	Wheeler	1967	1
Thrift	Burkburnett vicinity	Wichita	1977	0
Red River Valley Museum	Vernon	Wilbarger		0
First Baptist Church of Raymondville	Raymondville	Willacy	1992	0
Kuykendall, Miss Laura	Georgetown	Williamson	1968	0
Barker-Huebinger House	Sutherland Spring	Wilson	2008	1
Wink Junior High and High School	Wink	Winkler	2012	1

Hanna-Robinson-Richey Drugstore	Chico	Wise	1976	1
Perryville Baptist Church	Winnsboro	Wood	1986	0
Center Point School, Site of	Plains	Yoakum	2000	0
Young County Jail	Graham	Young	1976	0
Trevino, Jesus Home	San Ygnacio	Zapata	1964	1
Kincaid Ranch	Batesville	Zavala	2008	1